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# THE INSIDE STORY



Edward Hennessy, chairman of the Allied Corporation, which came out on top in the four-way merger war

## Recession doesn't stop merger mania

By Daniel Lazare

NEW YORK

Edward L. Hennessy, chairman of the Allied Corporation, the oil, natural gas and chemical company, helicoptered into Manhattan one recent Saturday morning to explain to reporters just how it was that his firm came out on top in the tumultuous four-way merger war with Martin Marietta, the Bendix Corporation and United Technologies.

The setting for the press conference was suitably upscale—the Hotel Pierre on Fifth Avenue, which, even by that street's lofty standards, stands out as a symbol of wealth and elegance. White-jacketed waiters served up coffee and pastries while Hennessy, looking tanned and relaxed, rendered his account. Then, before he was finished, he decided to put in one final word on the economy and—of all things—welfare.

"My biggest concern is the recession and just how long it's going to last," he said. "There are no signs that it is ending."

He then said that the business slump, which began in 1979, is due to expanding federal deficits, which in turn are due to expenditures for welfare deficits, which in turn are due to expenditures for welfare and other social programs. "We won't have a recovery until we get the deficits under control," he said, "and until we begin to address these entitlement programs."

"But," he added, looking very grave, "nobody in Washington seems to have the political courage to go to it." Federal borrowing to finance welfare programs hurts business because, after all, "we're competing for the same dollar."

Hennessy's statement was noteworthy for at least two reasons.

• Bendix and Martin Marietta, the two firms that his company had just acquired interests in, are beneficiaries of the most bloated welfare program of all—the military. Marietta manufactures missile and weapons

systems, including the Pershing surface-to-surface ballistic missile, the MX, the Titan space missile and the Space Shuttle, which is being used more and more for military purposes. Bendix provides the military with its missile guidance and control systems, navigation devices and acoustic submarine detection equipment.

• A major factor in high interest rates are the vast sums that businesses are borrowing for speculative mergers and acquisitions. In 1981, for example, when interest rates were at their peak, an estimated \$30 billion to \$38 billion was loaned by commercial banks to corporations solely for takeovers, according to a study this year by the Consumer Federation of America. Another \$32 billion to \$40 billion was tied up in lines of credit extended by the banks. At the same time, total business borrowing (the amount of capital raised by U.S. corporations) only increased by about \$30 billion from 1980 to 1981, for a total of roughly \$350 billion.

In other words, if American corporations decided to raise more money in 1981, it was not to buy more machinery or hire more workers, but to engage in high finance's answer to Pac-Man, a corporate war of nerves in which the object is to gobble up other companies before they gobble you up in return. Mergers and acquisitions began increasing in early 1980, and it is no mere coincidence that unemployment has since increased from about 6 percent to 10 percent, while the factory utilization rate has dropped from 87 percent to 69 percent—the lowest since World War II.

The phenomenon is not the way capitalism is supposed to behave, if you put your faith in Reaganomics, which holds that the stock market and mergers are simply ways of allocating credit and investment, with the ultimate aim of boosting production. But since 1980, capital has been withdrawn from production and put toward empty speculation with the sole purpose of enriching a few stockholders and corporate officers. The irresistible historical parallel is the summer and early fall of 1929, when money was withdrawn from industrial production and output began to fall as capital from all over the world began to flow toward the Wall Street stock market. It was speculation in defiance of reality, but in the end reality had its revenge.

"It's a sign of the real malaise of the American corporations that instead of using the tax breaks that Reagan gave them to improve technology, what they're up to is playing these macho merger games," said Robert Lekachman, the economist and author of *Greed Is Not Enough*.

### Four scorpions in a bottle.

The battle among the four corporations, compared by Lekachman to "four scorpions in a bottle," was merger mania at its most primitive—a frenzied free-for-all practically designed to embarrass those business leaders who have been trying to convince the American public that, despite the worst slump in 40 years, the economy is in responsible hands. But more responsibility is typically exhibited at a Saturday night teenage drag race down Main Street than was shown by any of the corporations.

As everyone knows by now, the main mover in this passionate and tangled affair was William M. Agee, Bendix's 44-year-old chairman, whose takeover methods have earned him a reputation for aggressiveness and ferocity unusual even by American corporate standards. If any satisfaction is to be gained from the battle set in motion by Agee, it is that the man who started it all wound up on bottom. Under him, Bendix set out to gobble up Marietta, but instead came close to being

swallowed first by Marietta and then by United Technologies, another huge defense contractor whose president was Alexander Haig before he left to become Secretary of State under Reagan. In the end, though, Bendix was consumed by Allied, and Agee got a new title but no increase in power and a new boss—Edward Hennessy—to answer to.

Fresh from a string of successful takeovers, Agee had commenced operations on August 25 with a \$1.5-billion bid for a majority of Marietta's stock. What followed has generally been described as complicated and confusing, but it can be reduced to five simple steps: (1) Marietta responds five days later with what Wall Street calls the "Pac-Man defense," a \$1.8 billion offer for a majority interest in Bendix. (2) On September 7, Marietta enlists the help of United Technologies, who joins in the struggle to acquire Bendix. If either succeeds, they agree, the other will step aside. (3) Ten days later, Bendix begins buying 70 percent of Marietta, but is prevented by state corporate law for 10 days from using its voting rights to push the merger through. (4) Less than a week later, Marietta acquires a near-majority share of Bendix, and it appears that Marietta will be the first to be legally permitted to exercise its voting rights and take over Bendix. For the two scorpions, it is a race to see who can sting the other first. (5) Allied comes to Agee's rescue on September 24 with a \$1.9 billion bid to acquire all of Bendix plus 39 percent of Marietta, the amount purchased thus far by Agee. United Technologies is out of the picture, while Allied, a late entrant in the fray, is the victor.

The total cost to the economy was approximately \$5.6 billion in lines of credit extended by 28 major American banks and 11 foreign banks to each of the four participants, according to the Congressional Joint Economic Committee. Some 15 banks loaned to at least two of the firms, the committee said last week, while three New York banks—Bankers Trust, Chemical and Morgan Guaranty—loaned to three of the four combatants.

Marietta paid a high price for its independence—a near-tripling of its debt-load due to the money it borrowed to stave off Bendix. The increase in debt puts Marietta dangerously close to insolvency. Allied's debt-load increased nearly 60 percent, but it is still not nearly as severe as Marietta's.

Nonetheless, both firms will undoubtedly have to sell assets to pay off their newly acquired debts, although neither has said what it intends to unload. Speculation has settled on Marietta's aluminum division and on Bendix's automotive parts division. If the speculation about Bendix is correct, 30,000 workers in North America and Western Europe—55 percent of Bendix's workforce—would be affected.

But whatever happens, warned Hennessy, jobs will be cut. "We have 5,000 people on layoff [at Allied]," he said, "and I'm sure there will be more if this recession continues."

Meanwhile, industrial production and capital investment in U.S. factories dropped again in August, the number of workers signing up for jobless benefits rose to a record 703,000 for the week ending September 18, business bankruptcies are soaring and Mexico appears more and more unable to keep up with payments on its \$85 billion foreign debt. The economic news is so unrelentingly gloomy that publications like *Business Week* and the *Wall Street Journal* are all but being printed with black borders.

Yet merger mania remains strong. ■  
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# Schmidt defeat rouses fear on all sides

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

**T**WO YEARS AFTER HIS RE-election, and perhaps now more popular than ever, Helmut Schmidt on October 1 became the first West German chancellor to be thrown out of office by the Bundestag. The fall of Europe's most respected statesman confirms Europe's political weakness, fragmentation and dependence.

West German voters obviously do not like the backroom intrigues and deals that brought down Schmidt and the 13-year-old coalition between his Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Free Democratic Party (FDP). The FDP split as its leader, foreign minister Hans Dietrich Genscher, went over to the other side and formed a new conservative coalition with the large Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and its smaller right-wing Bavarian partner, the Christian Social Union (CSU), headed by Franz-Josef Strauss. The new government, headed by Helmut Kohl (CDU), sought its mandate in dissension within the SPD, the deepening economic crisis and public opinion polls. But these claims to legitimacy were refuted by the weather vane state elections in Hesse on September 26. Instead of confirming the shift in public favor from SPD to CDU, Hesse voters threw out the unfaithful Free Democrats, retrieved the SPD from what had seemed certain to be a defeat, left the Christian Democrats short of their anticipated government majority with only 52 out of 110 seats and elected nine Greens to hold the balance and make life difficult for the others.

Dissension within the SPD-FDP coalition had allegedly made Germany "ungovernable." But with a narrow majority resting on part of a split and weakened FDP, on a colorless chancellor and with an aggressive Strauss breathing down its neck, the new government is scarcely stronger than the one it replaced. It seems to have only one asset, which perhaps explains everything: it should be reassuring to the Reagan administration.

No major policy changes were promised. But CDU leaders emphasized their determination to "restore Bonn's privileged relations with the U.S.," and to avoid Schmidt's "arrogance" and "errors of comportment."

Schmidt's fatal flaw may have been that he had too much stature for a European leader. Merely by his visible confidence and seasoned judgment (and not much confidence in the judgments of others, notably the American leaders he saw come and go without learning much), Schmidt suggested the possibility of an independent European approach to world problems. Of course, this never materialized, but the hope was there. With Schmidt's removal and the key country of Europe turned over to leaders anxious to please Washington, that hope is dead for the foreseeable future.

## Economics the deciding factor.

Ostensibly, the decisive issue was economic policy. It was in the name of "liberalism," in the European sense of free market, laissez-faire capitalism, that the Free Democrats united the coalition that swept the 1980 elections. Throughout the '70s, the liberals were content merely to block the Social Democrats from continuing the reform that marked their first years in office when Willy Brandt was chancellor. But with the deepening recession in the '80s, the liberals have been demanding a rollback of social benefits that is unacceptable to the SPD and its labor constituents. The break became inevitable on September 22, when Economics

Minister Otto Lambsdorff (FDP) published a long memorandum calling for deep cuts in social spending and fiscal benefits to business. Schmidt took up the challenge vigorously, demanding that the FDP cabinet ministers either stick to coalition policy or get out. Lambsdorff, Genscher and the others promptly resigned and began—or rather, completed—their negotiations with the Christian Democrats to form a new government.

In a scathing attack, Schmidt reminded everyone that Genscher had been firmly attached to Schmidt's coattails when the FDP leader reaped his record vote two years ago. Genscher was violating his mandate by changing sides. Accusations of treachery, betrayal and even regicide converged on the FDP leader. The magazine *Stern* drew a forked tongue onto its cover shot of Genscher. The FDP's rating in public opinion polls and its score in the Hesse elections tumbled well below the 5 percent required to win seats in the Bundestag. Schmidt called for early elections (because the Bundestag is halfway through its normal four-year term) to let the voters decide. This call was echoed from the other side of the spectrum by Franz-Josef Strauss, who would like to wipe out the FDP and dominate a more right-wing CDU-CSU partnership. But to avoid this, Kohl and the other more moderate CDU leaders want to save the FDP. A compromise was reached to hold early elections, but not until next March 6.

Free Democratic leaders were gambling that this delay would give them their

the Economics Minister in the new government. But the Christian Democrats have too many working-class constituents of their own to go along very far with his program of cutting deeply into unemployment compensation, old-age pension, aid to education and public health and other social benefits in order to increase profit margins and Germany's competitive edge in the world market. The economic program adopted calls for a 14 percent sales tax increase and obligatory interest-free loans to the government from higher income taxpayers. The Free Democrats had turned down similar tax and indebtedness increases when the SPD asked for them.

Since nobody has ready solutions to the economic crisis (although it is the



would do as well if not better in national elections. This prospect so alarms the established party that it may not dare to go ahead with the early elections next spring.

The loss of Schmidt, the familiar father figure, arouses fears on all sides. On the left, intellectuals are afraid of Strauss and the crackdown they fear will be led against the peace movement by Strauss' choice for interior minister, Friedrich Zimmermann. Zimmermann was implicated in a Bavarian gambling casino in the '60s. First convicted of perjury, he was acquitted by a court of appeals on grounds of "momentary intellectual deficiency." Experienced at breaking up gatherings of young people, Zimmermann wants to send large numbers of "yes workers" back to Turkey and to tighten up the controversial ban on "radicals" in public service, known as *berufssverbot*. This would be a reversal of the liberalizing policies of former Interior Minister Gerhard Baum.

Fear of the Green party extends from the right into the SPD, where some see their unconventional disregard for post-war standards of political democracy as heralding a new totalitarian peril. Fears of Strauss to the right and of the Greens to the left could eventually savor the notion of a "grand coalition" of the CDU

## With the SPD now in opposition, labor will grow more combative.



(Top) Helmut Schmidt, the first West German chancellor to be thrown out of office by the Bundestag. (Bottom) Helmut Kohl, the new West German chancellor

one chance to survive. The September 17 crisis announcing the imminent fall of the SPD caused the German mark and stock market prices to soar, reflecting enthusiasm in financial circles for FDP austerity policy. Genscher and Lambsdorff hope this psychological factor may cause enough of a business upswing to make the economic picture look reasonably good just in time for the spring elections. By claiming credit, the FDP might be able to get back over the 5 percent barrier.

But the Hesse election results sent the mark, the stock market and business morale down again. Clearly, espousing Reaganomics is no way to get elected in West Germany. Lambsdorff survives as

overriding issue), West Germans' interest may turn to other, more "qualitative" issues. On the right, this can mean concern for law and order, for sending immigrant workers back where they came from and for taking a tougher line with the Communist East.

On the left, this means nuclear disarmament, ecology and lifestyles that can accommodate slowed economic growth in the developed countries. This "qualitative" left is stronger today in Germany than anywhere else, as proved by the electoral breakthrough of the Green party.

In Hesse, the Greens got 8 percent of the vote, replacing the FDP as the third party. And recent polls indicate that they

and the SPD. While out of the question today, this might be the only way to keep the government in the middle of the road if the FDP is wiped out in the next election.

The SPD, appearing relieved that the suspense was over, seemed particularly united as it was thrust into opposition. Schmidt fell from power magnificently, putting himself and his party in a strong position to fight their way back. But serious strains are bound to develop over the questions of the Social Democrats' future alliance—FDP, CDU or Green? Public opinion surveys indicate there is strong support for the idea of a SPD-Green alliance. The left minority of the SPD believes the Social Democrats must make their comeback by coming to terms with the Greens and then building alliances with the new movement.

There are serious clashes of style and sensibility between the SPD and the Greens. They are divided over the central issue of economic growth. The Greens are generally quite ignorant of economics and lack coherent policies on many issues that legislators have to vote on. But their insistence on paying attention to the ends and not just the means of politics could contribute to a political renaissance in Europe if this new left would somehow combine with the old left of the SPD. Two crucial areas of potential agreement between them are aid to Third World developments and disarmament.

Those on the left who would like to see a rapprochement between the SPD and the Greens are hoping that an alliance against the conservative government may be built in the coming months between the peace movement and organized labor. The trade unions are preparing for big demonstrations against cuts in the social budget, and the metalworkers plan to fight for the 35-hour work week as a way to curb unemployment. With the SPD in opposition, organized labor is likely to grow more combative. This should make it easier to involve the unions in the peace movement, which is already so strong that deploying nuclear missiles in West Germany may be politically impossible, even with a conservative pro-U.S. government in Bonn. ■



# IN SHORT

## Make jobs, not war

The freeze referenda on the ballot in nine states this fall are not the only opportunities Americans will have to cast disapproval on Reagan's military buildup. Several million voters in more than 50 cities from Lansing to Atlanta will face "jobs with peace" proposals, which ask whether Congress should divert funds from the Pentagon for human and public service programs. Most of the referenda are non-binding votes similar to those already passed in 14 cities (Boston, Detroit, San Francisco, Madison, Oakland, Berkeley and a number of towns in Massachusetts) since 1978. But in Baltimore and Pittsburgh, the proposals would require city officials to publish figures on the amount of money taken from local taxpayers for military projects.

Frank Clemente, director of the campaigns in Massachusetts (where 41 more towns are hosting proposals this November), says the idea of the jobs with peace referenda evolved from efforts to broaden the peace movement. "It came with the recognition that we didn't represent the backbone of America—the ethnic groups, the working people, senior citizens," he says. "We saw the votes as an educational tool." According to Clemente, they have also turned out to be a good organizing tool because peace activists, labor and minorities have all mobilized behind the proposals. Jobs with peace proposals are also on the ballot this November in Milwaukee, San Jose and Worcester as well as Santa Cruz and Humboldt Counties in California. For more information contact Jobs With Peace National Network, 2940 16th St., Room 1, San Francisco, Calif. 94103, (415) 558-8615.

## Recycling a good idea

At a time when unemployment is on the brink of double digits, when mass transit systems are being squeezed, when overworked sewage treatment plants are dumping untreated sludge into rivers and when highways are crumbling, the often-maligned job programs of the '30s now seem like strokes of brilliance. Under government supervision unemployed workers built 46,000 bridges, erected 62,000 buildings and dug several subway systems. The Civilian Conservation Corps, a program for unemployed youth, planted two billion trees—the timber value of which paid for the program several times over. Even Ronald Reagan's family was pulled out of poverty during the Depression when his father landed a post with one of the jobs projects. But the president, who insists over and over that the private sector can shower us all with prosperity if only given the chance, seems to have forgotten those days. But most Americans have not—85 percent of them favor a government-sponsored jobs program for young men (75 percent favor one for young women), according to a recent Gallup poll.

## Meredith ain't whistlin' 'Dixie'

At Ole Miss, the university that became a bloody battlefield in 1962 when a black man named James Meredith tried to register for classes, some things have changed. But some remain the same. Blacks now play a role in the gridiron heroics that are a big part of the school's cherished traditions. But they are cheered on by fans who still wave rebel flags and sing the Confederate anthem, "Dixie." Seven hundred blacks now attend the university. But none have been accepted into the powerful fraternities and sororities that lord over the school's social life. James Meredith earned a warm welcome when he returned to campus recently to observe the twentieth anniversary of his enrollment at the previously all-white university. But, as Meredith told *In These Times*, "It's still a segregated university. Only six percent of the student body is black. They have only six blacks on the faculty. There's not another school, not even in Mississippi, that doesn't have at least three or four times as many black teachers."

Meredith pointed out that Ole Miss is an incubator for the state's elite—doctors, lawyers, business leaders and politicians—which explains why it is the last of Mississippi's schools to accept a racially mixed student body or faculty. "They get a lot of funds from the federal government," he says; "so they do the bare minimum of integration to keep those funds coming." In travels to other universities—both in the north and the south—Meredith said he still finds a great deal of discrimination against blacks. But he hasn't hung up his hopes of educational equality. As publisher of *Outlook*, a magazine published in Jackson that explores social issues in Mississippi, Meredith continues to pursue the goals of the civil rights movement. "My aims now," he says, "are the same as they were 20 years ago."

—Jay Walljasper

Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports anecdotes—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Please include your address and phone number.



Photographer unknown

## Independent booksellers fight back at the chains

OAKLAND, CA—The local independent bookshop may be going the way of the family farm. Giant chains of bookstores, often subsidiaries of much larger conglomerates, are rapidly gobbling up the bookselling business. B. Dalton's, Waldenbooks and other chains accounted for only 10 percent of book sales in 1972. Now the figure is approaching 30 percent and rising steadily.

"We're selling the idea of book-reading," says Robert Haft, president of Crown Books. "I read six to eight books a week myself." Walk into one of Haft's stores anywhere in the country and you'll find an almost identical stock and store format: best-sellers, gift books, standard classics, Garfield and Dead Cats, all at discount prices. "If you paid full price," reads the sign, "you didn't buy it at Crown Books."

But it's not the chain's discounts to consumers that bother Andy Ross, owner of Cody's Books in Berkeley, Calif.—it's the publishers' generous discounts to the chains. Ross and the Northern California Booksellers Association (NCBA) have filed an antitrust suit in San Francisco's federal district court against one of the publishers, the Hearst Corporation's Avon Books, contending that Avon is giving larger discounts to the chains than to independent bookstores. The suit says the practice is discriminatory, anti-competitive and illegal under the Robinson-Patman Act, which covers fair competition.

Even if the NCBA eventually wins the suit, it's not likely to do much more than slow the trend toward concentration in the bookselling business. Neverthe-

less, the suit has provided a focus for trying to organize a difficult constituency—the independent small business people who own most of America's bookstores.

Ross believes that more is at stake in this case than the future of the community bookstore. He thinks "our cultural heritage" is on the line. "I'm convinced," he says, "that the chains' buying-influence spills over into publishers' editorial decisions on what is published."

If distribution is dominated by a few national chain stores, then the content of popular publishing will be determined by the needs of those chains. Their success depends on high turnover—shelf space is money and shelf life is brief. Slower-moving books aimed at smaller audiences—political books, poetry and books by unknown or first-time authors—won't be picked up by the chains. In turn, publishers will give them even less attention than before.

"Books," says Ross, "are unique. They present ideas that must be cherished and nurtured." Fewer books available will mean that fewer ideas are widely accessible.

Sales clerks at Crown Books think such worries about literary merit, originality and political insight are snobbish. "We do carry lots of books. No one can carry everything," one says. For them, the consumer is the ultimate test of merit and purchases are like votes at election time.

"I have more faith in the free market and economic efficiency," says Gary Halling, attorney for Avon Publishers, "than I do in subjective and moral judgments. What's important is what people want." Halling points out that even chain bookstores are

only part of the market for a publisher like Avon, because more and more books are being sold in drugstores and supermarkets.

If Federal District Court Judge Thelton Henderson rules the case must go to trial, the NCBA will have to raise "tens of thousands" of dollars to cover the court costs. "Our legal position is very strong," says Ross, "but they can outspend us as much as they have to. I hope that justice is not just a matter of dollars and cents."

—Alan Snitow

## SWP members sue Lockheed

MILLEDGEVILLE, GA—Fifteen members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) filed suit against the Lockheed-Georgia Co. in late September, claiming the firm harassed, spied on and fired them because of their political activities.

The plaintiffs are using internal company documents in their case against the large defense contractor, from whom they are asking \$3.4 million in damages as well as reinstatement with full seniority and back pay. They say the documents prove Lockheed officials followed them home from work, investigated their roommates and attempted to use electronic devices to listen in on a conversation.

All but one of the plaintiffs were fired in December 1980 and January 1981 from Lockheed's Marietta, Ga., aircraft plant. They had been employed in semi-skilled jobs and were active in the Machinists' Union, according to Tom Fiske, the only one of the plaintiffs not fired. Fiske said the company began an intensive surveillance of the plaintiffs and others after a co-worker reported that SWP campaign literature was passed out at a union meeting in October 1980.

Lockheed spokesman Dick Martin said the workers were fired because they falsified information on their job applications. According to him, the socialists were among 100 employees dismissed in 1980 for "violations of company policy."

But Fiske said the Lockheed files reveal it was politics—not job application forms—the firm was worried about.

The documents came from a Lockheed file marked "SWP case," Fiske said, which contained notes on the surveillance of eight persons—outside their homes, in a shopping center, at a civil rights march and at a Red Lobster restaurant. He added, "One of the gumshoes who followed people home testified in a deposition that the only reason for the initiation of this [falsification of application] investigation was that he suspected these workers were members of the SWP."

The plaintiffs gained access to the Lockheed files through a court order from another case, in which the SWP is suing several branches of the federal government.

"We think this is a fight not just for 14 jobs," Fiske said, "but for all the unions in this country, for all the civil rights organizations. If they can do it to us, they can do it to all organizations."

—Janet Groat



## ILLINOIS

# Governor's race tests neo-liberalism

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

**L**AST APRIL THE PROSPECTS for Illinois Governor James Thompson to be the first consecutive three-term governor in the state's history looked a little grim.

An anomaly among Midwestern Republican governors even in his running for re-election, Thompson trailed challenger Adlai Stevenson III by a couple of points in the polls. Propelled into office with an image as a corruption-fighting U.S. attorney, Thompson had been besmirched by incidents of improper influence-pushing on behalf of his wife and of receiving questionable gifts.

He had been widely assailed for failing to provide necessary leadership on behalf of the Equal Rights Amendment. Even within his own party his choice for lieutenant governor, a staunch opponent of the ERA and a self-consciously anti-labor Speaker of the state House of Representatives, had faced a stiff challenge from a pro-ERA woman.

Illinois has been hit harder by the Reagan budget than most states. Unemployment had been rapidly rising, hitting 12.3 percent by July but around 20 percent in many of the downstate cities. Thompson, who has been an ardent defender of Reagan policies on most occasions, stirred some state protests with his own mini-version of Reagan austerity for the most vulnerable and tax breaks for the wealthiest.

But recent polls show Thompson with a powerful lead—52 to 41 percent in a *Chicago Sun-Times* survey, 47 to 36 percent in a *Chicago Tribune* poll. However, there are enough undecideds and peculiarities in the results—such as a narrow Thompson lead in traditionally Republican downstate areas that now suffer unemployment rates of 15 to 20 percent—to give Stevenson backers at least some reason to hope.

Most observers attribute Thompson's strong showing to the contrast in personalities—or non-personalities, some would say, in the case of Stevenson—and in campaign styles. Thompson is the folksy Republican; Stevenson is the aloof, elitist Democrat, a two-term Senator who quit in 1980 in frustration.

playing its traditional labor, black and worker base with their suspicions of the rich to a politics of polite government-corporate cooperation in the march to post-industrialism as a "gentleman's" alternative to crude Reaganite laissez-faire.

On the Republican side, a Thompson victory might inspire a conservatism that is "populist" in style but short of much of the new right social issue demagoguery.

Stevenson wanted to force the campaign into a debate on "the Stevenson strategy" to create a government business partnership for economic growth. Slightly better than the usual computer-chip corporatism in its recognition that the state should build on existing strengths, Stevenson's brand of planning would put state bonding, taxing, regulatory and educational activity at the disposal of "innovative" business. The old manufacturers, now reeling, would be given short shrift.

Nowhere is there a hint of popular, democratic involvement of the state's citizenry or even institutions such as unions in this new partnership. But it is

son is the problem. Reagan's personal popularity remains fairly high, with statewide polls showing slightly more disapproval than support for his policies. Besides, Thompson has managed to avoid wholesale identification with Reagan among the president's critics.

Stevenson hoped to make deep inroads into the suburbs where Thompson has done so well by abandoning identification with the traditional urban elements of the Democratic Party. But his neo-liberalism has not yet caught fire with white-collar suburbanites, and he has alienated many of those who should be his base.

Since recent polls have shown women strongly Democratic, Thompson's ticket was vulnerable (doubly so when Stevenson's running mate is a woman). Yet Stevenson has failed to make women's issues central to his campaign, and Thompson shows a lead among women in polls. Last summer Stevenson tarnished his own credentials when he haughtily refused for some time to resign from an all-male club in Chicago.

Politically attuned blacks distrust Stevenson for his poor senatorial record on appointment of blacks to his staff or to federal judgeships and for his continued implication that the problem was finding qualified candidates.

It would have taken saintly tact and byzantine diplomacy to pull together all the fractious Chicago Democrats behind his candidacy. Stevenson has neither. For his supposed friendliness to Richard M. Daley, the former mayor's son, Mayor Jane Byrne has given Stevenson a paranoid cold shoulder. Other Chicago Democrats seem more interested in keeping up chummy relations with Thompson than in

tion arm, COPE, gave Stevenson a surprise endorsement by slightly more than the necessary two-thirds, Gibson nevertheless said that COPE wouldn't give Stevenson more than a token contribution. That provoked a fight from Stevenson supporters at the state labor convention last week.

Thompson's support comes from many predictable unions, such as Republican-inclined Teamsters. But many of the building trades also back the incumbent in part because of Stevenson's opposition to the practice of the government paying tradesmen wages that prevail in private industry. He has also attacked state highway employees as overpaid and suggested doing much of their jobs with minimum wage workers or convicts.

When he failed to give support to the prime autoworker legislative aim—requiring specified levels of domestic parts and labor in autos sold here—he won endorsement by only a 16 to 7 vote. AFS-CME, the main agent for state employees, gave no endorsement, since they saw Stevenson's views on taxes as indistinguishable from those of Thompson. And the state branch of the National Education Association (NEA) backed the governor.

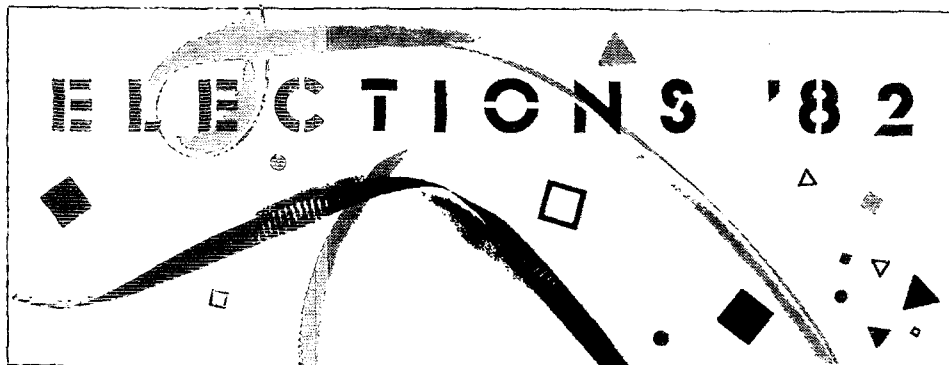
Some labor leaders were angry with Stevenson for being inaccessible as a senator (and a "lazy bastard," according to Service Employees local president Irv Kirschenbaum), even though he had a 77 percent approval-rating from the AFL-CIO on his voting record.

The most recent *Sun-Times* poll showed Stevenson with only a 47 to 43 percent lead in union households. Even among his supporters, there is often lit-

*Incumbent Governor James Thompson (directly below) leads former Senator Adlai Stevenson III (bottom) by a wide margin in the polls.*



Steve Kagon



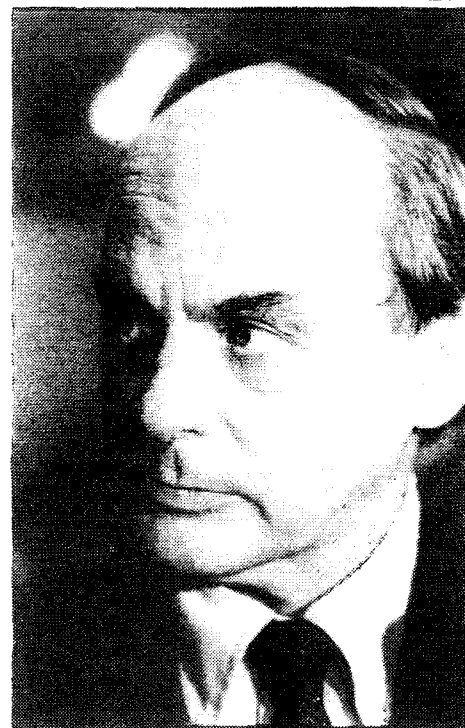
In many ways, the campaign is another triumph of style over substance. Thompson cultivates an image as a strong leader and competent administrator—"Big state, Big job, Big Jim"—who listens to the little people. The effective symbolism belies his policy of favoritism to business and hostility to urban workers, the poor and women as well as his politically compromised budget that has weakened the state's vulnerable economy. Stevenson's seeming contempt for his potential supporters overshadows his occasionally useful proposals for reviving the state economy, such as redirecting pension fund investment.

The race is also a test of neo-liberal tendencies within the Democratic Party. Stevenson's defeat could deal a blow to those who would shift the party from

more coherent than Thompson's non-planning. And although it accepts a continuation of tax relief for business, it at least recognizes that improvement of state roads, schools and public services may be more important for economic growth than a miserly state budget and low taxes.

## Accusations and denials.

But the campaign has so far been more centered on whether Adlai was right in denying he is a wimp. (One reporter argued that wimps were what people really wanted and popular columnist Mike Royko suggested Stevenson was not really a wimp but a nerd.) And although his slogan is "We all know the problem; the solution is Stevenson," he has so far failed to convince enough voters that Thomp-



Steve Kagon

beating him, leaving Stevenson upstaged by Thompson even at Democratic or labor union functions.

The Stevenson strategy has backfired most with the unions. State AFL-CIO president Bob Gibson has made no secret of his affection for Thompson over the years. After the state body's political ac-

tle enthusiasm.

Vince Martinez, a 30-year-old Chicago stationery store employee, is a Democrat who dislikes Reagan. He should be a Stevenson natural. But he ran up to Thompson at a campaign handshake event, explaining afterwards that he always liked Thompson because he shot pool once at the Pioneer Bowl where he hangs out. "He's done a fairly good job," Martinez said, and he doesn't blame the bad economy on Reagan or Thompson.

At the southside Chicago Ford plant where Stevenson failed to show up as scheduled to shake hands, the sentiment was largely pro-Stevenson. The economy, Reagan and the ERA were, in that order, the main chinks in the governor's armor.

"I'm for Stevenson right now," Ron Pires, 54, said, "only because Thompson is kind of governed by Reagan and neither is for labor. I was for Reagan and I was for Thompson, but not the way it's going. Reagan pushes the button and Thompson follows through."

The verdict on the neo-liberal strategy—promoting a post-industrial America while ignoring the immediate interests of the traditional liberal blocs of voters—isn't in yet. But if the Stevenson campaign is a barometer, it isn't playing well in Peoria—or any other part of Illinois. ■



## AMERICAN INDIANS

## College receives eviction notice during tribunal

By Thomas Brom

YOLO COUNTY, CA

**S**WEATING UNDER THE INDIAN blanket serape he wears, Henry Dominguez leans against an old Chevy outside the tribunal hall. Several of his 15 children buzz around him in the heat like yellow-jackets, each receiving small pats on the head as they pass by.

A Chiricahua Apache raised in the Santa Clara Valley, Dominguez worked as a farm laborer most of his life and carries the scars from repeated pesticide burns. As he speaks, a B-52 bomber from nearby Beale Air Force Base swings low over the surrounding farmland. "You control the fire now," he tells this reporter, "but you don't control the water, the wind and the earth. It's a matter of the spirit. And that spirit is here at D-Q."

Dominguez is one of several hundred Indians from dozens of tribes and more than 10 countries who gathered here in mid-September for the first American Indian International Tribunal, held at Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University, or D-Q-U. Located on an abandoned Army communications base about seven miles west of Davis, Calif., the school has been a focus for Indian activity since 75 Indians and Chicanos occupied the square mile of land in 1971, forcing the government to sign a 30-year lease. But if the Reagan administration has its way, D-Q and all it stands for will soon be swept away.

American Indian Movement (AIM) leaders originally planned the September

tribunal as an impeachment hearing for Ronald Reagan, whose New Federalism policies shift responsibilities for Indian schools and health clinics from the federal government to the states. That, AIM believes, will mean the abrogation of treaty rights promising Indians health care, teachers and even annual food rations.

But midway through the week of testimony, the U.S. Attorney's office sent D-Q a 30-day notice terminating the federal lease and ordering the accredited community college to vacate the land. Although the timing of the eviction notice seemed directed at the tribunal, the notice to vacate hardly came as a surprise to D-Q's leaders. "In the past decade, we have endured 25 government audits and special reviews," says D-Q president Steve Baldy, a Hupa who has worked at the university since 1973. "We've been investigated by the General Accounting Office, General Services Administration, Department of Education and the FBI. Undercover agents posing as students and as instructors have kept the school under constant surveillance. The state accrediting commission still supports us, but after 10 years we have exhausted our resources."

The Department of Education (DOE) has made no secret of its intention to shut down the university. The draft report of a 1981 audit—leaked to the *Washington Post* last year before D-Q had a chance to respond—charged the university with padding enrollment figures and other fraudulent activities. Another leaked DOE memo accused D-Q of "fostering violence and savagery"—a reference to the annual Sun Dance ceremony and

sweat-lodge purifications.

Although the 1981 audit was inconclusive, it prompted Rep. Vic Fazio of Sacramento to withdraw a bill transferring the land to D-Q within six years. DOE Secretary Terry Bell commented that D-Q had "a disquieting record of failures and mismanagement," and DOE controller Ralph Olmo added that the administration was "moving in a straight line to take back the land."

Mismanagement—real or imagined—probably has less to do with DOE concern than the presence of Dennis Banks, AIM leader and the chancellor of D-Q since 1979. Banks was arrested in 1975 for unlawful flight from South Dakota, but California Governor Jerry Brown refused to extradite him because of threats against his life by the South Dakota attorney general. In the time since Banks has been an instructor at D-Q, he has revived many traditional Indian ceremonies.

The D-Q eviction notice nearly overshadowed a week of testimony, drumming and pow-wows focused on the economic impact of U.S. policies on tribal people abroad. Since the formation of the International Indian Treaty Council (IITC) five years ago, AIM leadership has emphasized the solidarity of indigenous peoples.

The tribunal also featured an opening day session on multinational corporations and "money-changers" that provided a glimpse at the broader political vision of AIM. After opening ceremonies, the session began with a review of the Trilateral Commission by author Holly Sklar. AIM leader Russell Means followed with a long statement by Harry Sebakovitch, an international money manager for a Liechtenstein mutual fund. Means said he'd spent three nights talking with Sebakovitch about international currency speculation and "who controls the world."

Sebakovitch indicted the international banking system for purposefully collapsing national currencies, "eliminating competition in the world of international business by the elimination of money."

After reading the statement, Means elaborated on the evils of industrial society. "Marxism, capitalism—they're all a diversion," he said.

Means' rejection of the left is not new, nor is AIM's flirtation with international conspiracy theories. "After all, there's a lot of evidence to support those theories, especially in the experience of AIM leadership," Sklar points out. But Sebakovitch was something new, since he is a self-described member of the Congress for a Libertarian Society whose testimony laid down great planks from the Libertarian Party platform.

"Frankly, I've never heard of the 'Congress for a Libertarian Society,'" says Bill Evers, a life-long Libertarian and editor of *Inquiry* magazine. "But the testimony is consistent with the 'radical caucus' within the party, which supports the return of Indian lands, conversion to the gold standard and withdrawal from the World Bank."

But if there is a Libertarian connection to AIM, it seems to be mostly a confluence of loosely anti-state ideas. AIM members aren't really interested in ideology from white people—only in surviving the political and cultural oppression of industrial society. "Whether that imperialist is a socialist, a fascist, a communist or a capitalist, they must not be allowed to take part in our struggle," AIM leader John Trudell testified. "Our allies are in the natural world."

AIM now needs to rally all of its allies here and abroad to help it win the battles underway at D-Q, the Black Hills and Big Mountain. Baldy has already retained the Native American Rights Fund as counsel and anticipates a long court battle. But AIM's long-term problem is the U.S. government's relentless opposition to Indian nationhood and Indian culture—an opposition that appears to border on the pathological. D-Q—four cement block buildings lost in a square mile of brown stubble in the Sacramento Valley—hardly seems worth the \$1 million the government has spent so far trying to shut it down.

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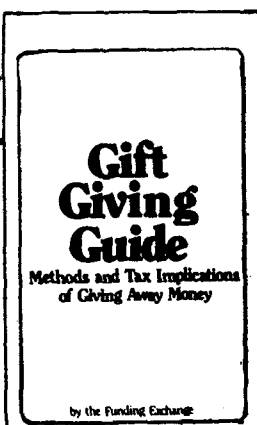
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## CALIFORNIA



# Freeze supporters find indifference to the initiative

By Alan Snitow

OAKLAND

**D**ESPITE THE APPARENT LACK of opposition, California's nuclear weapons freeze organizers are coming down from the euphoria of this spring. They now fear that the bilateral freeze initiative on the November ballot may not win, or may not win by enough to be considered a mandate for the peace movement.

Nine states and the District of Columbia will vote on the freeze November 2, but the battle for Ronald Reagan's home turf is considered the big test. And according to several recent polls, almost half of the state's voters don't yet know enough about the initiative to have an opinion. Among those who do, voter opposition to the freeze is greater than supporters and the media had expected.

Although potential voter opposition seems strong, organized opposition seems to be drying up. Californians for a Verified Arms Reduction, the campaign committee that wrote the ballot argument against the freeze, has gone out of business. Another group, Californians for a Strong America, has raised only \$1,771, according to statewide totals at the Registrar of Voters office in San Francisco. Freeze supporters, on the other hand, have raised almost \$900,000 during the past six months.

John Dolinsky, treasurer for Califor-

nians for a Strong America, placed the blame for hamstringing the campaign on the White House. "The president's position was the determining factor," he said.

The Reagan administration has intervened with incredible effectiveness to discourage local opposition in favor of a more subtle campaign run from Washington. Ultra-rightists eager to do battle with the peaceniks have been squelched unceremoniously in the state. For example, Dolinsky, who is also a member of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation, had hoped to run a major media campaign against the freeze. But when his group approached 12 members of Reagan's kitchen cabinet—the group of conservative multi-millionaires whose power in California Republican circles is legendary—Dolinsky's appeal for funds was rejected in short order, without the courtesy of an explanation.

The response from Washington has been even more discouraging. Telegrams to the White House have gone unanswered. Even Dr. Edward Teller, the group's honorary co-chair, came back empty-handed after a White House visit.

"This led us to a situation in which we've stopped campaigning," said Dolinsky. "Soon we'll stop answering the telephone."

The administration has learned a lot since spring when White House and Defense Department representatives provoked fear with statements supporting limited nuclear war. "They're playing

political possum," complained freeze leader Harold Willens, "but how organized do you have to be when you own the microphone for four years?"

## Where the smart money goes.

There are two elements to the Republican anti-freeze strategy in California. The first is to avoid spending money to defeat what hard-boiled conservatives believe to be a quixotic campaign that does nothing more than require the governor to send a pro-freeze letter to the president and the Congress. Contrary to rumors, the National Conservative Political Action Committee, the Moral Ma-

## Almost half of the voters don't know enough about the initiative to have an opinion.

jority and Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum are not planning to flood the campaign with cash.

"Most people on our side in this issue are putting their financial resources into campaigns for Senate, for governor or into those issues we'll be held to legally," said Jo Ellen Allen, state coordinator of the Eagle Forum.

The second part of the strategy is to duck. Republican candidates around the state are avoiding head-on confrontations on the freeze. Some Republicans in liberal districts have endorsed the freeze while others have used outright deception. Twenty-year veteran Don Clausen from California's North Coast district, headlined one of his newsletters, "Clausen Reaffirms Commitment to Nuclear Freeze," although he voted against the freeze resolution in Congress.

While local candidates are avoiding the freeze, the administration has been bringing in its big guns since summer to spread the message "trust the president." George Bush, Caspar Weinberger, Eugene Rostow and the president himself have hammered away at themes that have been used successfully since President John F. Kennedy's specious charge in 1960 of a missile gap with the Soviets.

The closest thing to an organized opposition to the freeze in California comes out of Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, one of the nation's two major design centers for nuclear warheads. The lab's public affairs office coordinates speaking engagements for the more than 30 lab scientists campaigning against the freeze. But public affairs officer Arnie Heller said it is all unofficial.

Bill Perry, who was chief public affairs officer for the lab before he quit this spring, designed the freeze initiative's public relations campaign. "Lawrence Livermore people are spewing out facts as fast as they can to confuse people and then they say, 'trust us,'" he said. Presentations by lab scientists tend to slide back and forth from numbers games to absurd simplifications, according to Perry.

Lee Dembart, a reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*, recently wrote that one such presentation gave him "a severe case of the MECOs (my eyes glaze over)."

The only other significant source of potential voter confusion has been the press, which from time to time picks up administration charges that the freeze is unilateral rather than bilateral. Business executive Willens—the main fundraiser for the freeze campaign—confirmed that a recent *Wall Street Journal* poll of business leaders hurt fundraising efforts. Conducted by the Gallup Organization, the poll asked the question: "Do you favor a unilateral freeze by the U.S. on the production and deployment of nuclear weapons?"

Freeze organizers were outraged by the question. Willens called it "unpatriotic

and treasonous," adding, "Gallup should go to his grave like Benedict Arnold with a metaphoric scarlet letter on his head."

Such rages have added some spice to the otherwise low-key freeze campaign. However, Senate candidate Jerry Brown has received some media attention for his recent TV spot suggesting that a vote for his opponent, San Diego mayor Pete Wilson, is a vote for nuclear extinction. Into the homes of 22 million Californians each night comes a rumbling mushroom cloud. Fade to little girl: "I want to go on living." Voice over: "Pete Wilson opposes the nuclear freeze. Vote for your life. Elect Jerry Brown to the U.S. Senate."

Modeled on Lyndon Johnson's 1964 ad portraying Barry Goldwater as the angel of death, the Brown TV spot caused quite a stir in the Wilson camp and focused media attention on Republican attempts to confuse the freeze issue. "In fact," said Brown, "Mayor Wilson has been a consistent supporter of pre-escalation policies."

The Brown ad has helped a campaign that desperately needed controversy to raise money for its own TV advertising. Willens and others have speculated that a major aim of the Reagan administration's "surreptitious but effective" strategy is to reduce the campaign's ability to raise the big money for TV.

The strategy may be working since fundraising is behind schedule. But field organizer Steve Ladd was matter-of-fact about the crunch. "The whole campaign has turned into a fundraising operation."

Even with the help of the Brown TV spot and the hopes of swelling coffers, the freeze campaign hasn't yet had to deal head-on with its most formidable opponent—President Reagan. "He'll upstage you every time," says a leading labor advocate of the freeze in San Jose. "No one can do TV like he can."

Randy Keeler, head of the National Freeze Clearinghouse in St. Louis, also has visions of an "October Surprise" with Reagan on prime time. "I can see him announcing some kind of breakthrough in Geneva that he can't share with us for national security reasons. He'll appeal to the American people not to undercut the negotiations by supporting the dangerous and one-sided nuclear freeze."

Gordon Adams, a defense analyst for the Council on Economic Priorities in New York, has his doubts about the October Surprise. "Frankly, I don't think the administration takes the issue seriously. They don't think it's real," he said.

The administration may change its tune after November 2 if the freeze makes the difference in key senate and congressional races. But freeze organizers in California now are so deeply involved in the final frenzy of campaigning that they have paid little attention to their strategy after November. "It's unfortunate not much is going to change after November," said freeze staffer Josh Barton. "We're going to send a big letter."

But they have to win first and win big. "Otherwise," warned Lee Halterman, an aide to Rep. Ron Dellums, "It's horrific to contemplate what will happen in Washington."

Alan Snitow is chair of *In These Times*' west coast advisory board.











Photos clockwise from left: Mariel Hemingway and Patrice Donnelly in *PERSONAL BEST*; Carmine Stippo and Al Pacino in *CRUISING*; Michael Ontkean and Harry Hamlin in *MAKING LOVE*; Bernd Brodeur and Frank Ripplow in *TAXI ZUM KLO*.

his lover.  
**Stephen Harvey:** I think that with *La Cage aux Folles*, for straight audiences it's a question of letting them have their cake and eat it, too. On the one hand, they could laugh at the faggotry of one character and, on the other, they could feel superior to the narrow-minded, condescending bigotry of another. It's a very issue, because I think it's similar humor involving black or Jewish stereotypes. It's one thing for blacks to relate to black stereotypes. They will laugh because they also have an insight into where it's coming from. And yet these same blacks, I think, feel a little uncomfortable when whites laugh at the same humor, because they're not seeing it from the same perspective.

**Vito Russo:** First of all, I don't recall having said what Doug Edwards said I did about comedy. But I did have uncomfortable reactions to *La Cage aux Folles*. I think that the perception of it is different for straight and gay audiences. Straights and gays are laughing at different things; sometimes they're laughing at the same thing, but for different reasons. Laughter at gays confirms the ugliest stereotypes that liberal lights wouldn't dare utter in front of us, but which they really have. I can't believe that "It's his time of the month" line in *Partners*.

**Robin Wood:** I never liked *La Cage aux Folles* very much. It seemed to go out its way not to be offensive to either straights or gays. It's just kind of neutral itself. On the other hand, what seems to me to be on the whole the most positive and exhilarating and successful gay film recently is *Victor/Victoria*. I think it's wonderful because it's a film that endeavors to educate audiences to questions

like gender identity. I think it has a serious central defect—which is that it's ultimately not able to take gay relationships as seriously as straight ones—that you end up in the time-honored tradition of the serious couple and the comic couple. Here the serious couple is straight and the comic couple is gay. It's also a pity that James Garner discovers so early that Julie Andrews is really a woman.

**Andrew Britton:** I liked *Victor/Victoria* enormously, but I don't think it's a film about gays at all. It's really interested in the ambiguity of so-called straight sexuality, not immediately with gays themselves. I think that what's interesting about *Victor/Victoria* is that as soon as it comes to the point of actually acknowledging the sexuality of gay relationships as opposed to affirming them in principle, the film's handling of its material becomes uncertain and retreats, as it were, into comedy.

#### Personal Best

**Al LaValley:** Does *Personal Best*, in its treatment of lesbian relationships, escape some of the limitations of *Making Love*?

**Andrew Britton:** I disliked it quite a lot. It seems to me easily the most conservative film. The treatment of Tory the lesbian is outrageous. It finally wants to argue that for the Mariel Hemingway character, lesbianism is a kind of step toward the full heterosexual experience. The way in which women's bodies are shown is actually voyeuristic. The friendship between the two women is undercut by putting it in the context of competition and rivalry.

**Doug Edwards:** I'm fully aware of the criticism that women have about the so-called leering camera, focusing so adoringly on women's crotches and breasts.

But I don't think that means you should never be allowed to focus in an abstract way on the beauty of women's bodies from now on.

Towne is an extraordinary writer and a brilliant director. I think *Personal Best* is a work of art, but I think people have trouble with it, even though the focus is not—as Towne is so quick to point out—on the lesbian relationship. It really is on the competitive spirit, what I see as his sense that there is an alternative to the male outlook that has dominated sports. He sees that women can compete successfully but bring a feminine perspective to competition that will allow them to be successful, and at the same time not have to sacrifice camaraderie, love and friendship. The fact that the lesbian relationship is presented with such matter-of-factness is another breathtaking revelation about the film.

Seeing women in full-frontal nudity in the steam bath is unprecedented in mainstream American film. I think that makes people uncomfortable. Women are concerned because it is a man making the film and they think they're being exploited; men are unnerved because it's not a porno film—the nudity is peripheral and the women are real characters, not objects of fantasy. For many gay male viewers, dealing with women as sexual beings is immediately unnerving.

**Stuart Byron:** From a logical point of view, Towne can be defended in his statement that the film is nonjudgmental. Nonetheless, in traditional iconography, somebody who starts one way and ends up another is viewed as preferable in the way he or she ends up. And when you combine that with traditional psychoanalytic nonsense that lesbianism and homosexuality are adolescent phases,

there is no doubt in my mind that *Personal Best* endorses heterosexuality as the more grown-up option. On the other hand, it's hard to argue with the fact that the homophobic coach is the villain of the movie.

#### The joy of cruising.

**Al LaValley:** *Taxi zum Klo* was made independently by a gay man, Frank Ripplow. How much more successfully did it represent gay life than the mainstream Hollywood films?

**Richard Dyer:** I'm very confused about it because I feel very caught up in where I am personally in relation to be-

*Continued on page 15*

#### The Critics

**Andrew Britton** teaches film at Essex University in England and writes for *Movies* and *Gay Left*.

**Stuart Byron** is a former film columnist for the *Village Voice*.

**Richard Dyer** teaches film at the University of Warwick in England and has written two books for the British Film Institute: *Gays and Film* and *Stars*.

**Doug Edwards** is the Los Angeles editor for the *Advocate* and coordinator of special film programs for the Academy of Motion Pictures Arts and Sciences.

**Stephen Harvey** is the film critic for *Inquiry* and director of special film programs for the Museum of Modern Art.

**Richard Lippe** teaches film at York University in Canada and writes film criticism with Robin Wood for *Movie* and the Toronto gay paper the *Body Politic*.

**Vito Russo** is the author of *The Celluloid Closet*, a history of gays in the cinema.

**Tom Waugh** teaches film at Concordia College in Montreal and writes film criticism for the *Body Politic*.

**Robin Wood** is the author of studies on Hitchcock, Bergman, Hawks, Penn and others. He teaches at York University and writes for *Movie*.



# LETTERS

*In These Times* is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## POLITICAL THEORY?

I SUPPOSE IT HAD TO HAPPEN SOME time: you had to come out as "in support of sado-masochism." But I object vehemently, if not violently, to the sneaky way it was done: in the last column of an article purporting to discuss pornography and in fact simply trashing Susan Griffin "& Co." If you're going to talk about s&m as part of feminism, and that's how it was sloppily presented in Kate Ellis' article (ITT, Sept. 15), then you'd better get your facts straight, because your feminist readers already know them. Sado-masochism isn't just fun sexual play. It's the practice of oppression of another person, even with consent, and it's bodily harm: bruising, breaking skin, even possibly death. Training oneself to do bodily injury without killing one's lover seems an exercise in a class with deer-hunting or boxing: a sport for some people, but not really part of a political theory. I'm not sure I agree totally with *Pornography and Silence*, but there isn't any need to rush to the conclusion that those of us who wish to differ must necessarily "support sado-masochism."

I'm sick of reading about the joys of lover-beating in the allegedly feminist political publications I read lately, for the past three years, in fact. Those of you who don't care about maiming or disfiguring yourselves and your lovers are certainly welcome to continue doing so, and few would attempt to intervene. But I object to this being presented as a significant political practice (or do you consider it theorizing?).

—Louise Singleton  
Berkeley, Calif.

**Editor's note:** We're sorry Louise Singleton thinks we tried to sneak s&m over on our readers. Three points: 1) The opinions expressed in signed articles are those of our authors. 2) We don't generally hide our point of view.

If we wished to support s&m, we would say so loud and clear. 3) We do not consider this to be a political issue, though we know some people in the women's movement disagree.

## VICTIMS, ALL

WOMEN AND MEN AGAINST PORN should realize that heavy users of porn are victims. Porn shops are located in skid rows, places with large populations of victims. Heavy users of porn are usually men who are locked out of intimacy.

Porn is also addicting. It can take bigger fixes to satisfy.

As a former smoker is sensitized to the presence of cigarette smoke, former users of porn know that porn echoes through the pages of women's "beauty" magazines, and on television advertising and billboards. Porn exists in degrees.

Life is permeated with sexuality. It is healthy and good. The media goads us with it and demeans it. Pornographers get rich selling the closest thing to sex that a lot of men get.

—Mark Johnson  
Moorhead, Minn.

## HE'D POSE ANYTIME

I THINK KATE ELLIS (ITT, SEPT. 15) IS BEING very unfair in comparing *Playboy* to the meat-grinder treatment of women in *Hustler*. Are the paintings of nude women by the Renaissance masters pornography? Does the same effect become pornographic simply because a camera is used? What about the 200,000 women who subscribe to *Playboy*? What about *Playgirl* magazine? Despite opinions to the contrary, women do read it. I don't feel degraded as a man by *Playgirl*. I'd pose in the centerfold anytime. There is nothing obscene, pornographic or degrading about a man or woman posing aesthetically in the nude.

—Ernest Field  
Cleveland, Ohio

## PORN

KATE ELLIS IS HEADED IN THE RIGHT direction with her latest critique of the feminist anti-pornographers (ITT, Sept. 15).

As a man, I share the moral outrage at the Larry Flints of the world. But, like Ellis, I'm disturbed by the implications of their most vocal feminist critics.

The makers of *Not a Love Story*, or writers like Dworkin and Griffin, imply that doing away with pornography will, wholly or in part, do away with the "pornographic mind." Oh, if this were only the case I might be first to throw blood or fight for the closure of adult bookstores, despite my abhorrence of censorship.

Yet I know this strategy won't work. And many feminists and their sympathizers—men as well as women—feel the same way. Debates about the casual relationship, real or imagined, between pornography and sexual crime don't get at the source of these doubts either.

Although pornography does not cause male violence, it is, for sure, one of the main images of sexuality in our culture. It puts men and women in a certain sexual "place" and tries to keep them there. But abolishing it—if such a thing were possible—would do little to counter the recent rise in s&m fantasies and behavior, nor would it explain why so many of us are still locked in a battle with our own fantasies of domination and submission.

The answer here, as Ellis suggests, is figuring out how to replace pornographic images (and behavior) with more humane ones. This is the heart of the matter. We owe ourselves, as well as the men in the peep shows, no less.

—Neal Goldberg  
Chicago

## SNOW JOB

I WAS DISAPPOINTED BY THE PAUL Choitz article on Three Mile Island (TMI) tourists (ITT, Sept. 8). While I am glad to see someone paying attention to what the TMI owners are trying to tell people, I kept looking for a sentence, even a phrase, to indicate that Choitz didn't believe everything the TMI public relations people were laying on the tourists.

The results of last May's referendum on the restart of Unit 1 were clear: by a two-to-one majority the people of three counties next to the plant do not want to see it reopened. That vote reflects the fact that we neighbors don't trust GPU, the owner, because of three years of experience. A little more of this sentiment might have helped Choitz' article out.

—Linda Lotz  
Harrisburg, Pa.

## BERKELEY CONTRAST

I WAS DEEPLY IMPRESSED BY NORM Fruchter's two-part series (ITT, Aug. 25 and Sept. 15) on the anti-segregation efforts in the Los Angeles school system. A great tragedy. And incredible that the 18-year delay has now yielded a school system that is less than 15 percent white.

All the stalling served no one really—not the outrageously overcrowded Third World youngsters fighting for their rights within the public system, not the mostly white youngsters that now go to private schools within the narrowly defined reality of children like themselves.

But there are success stories. Berkeley chose to desegregate its schools in 1968. Yes, some white parents pulled their children out. But by and large, with a two-way busing system, we have thrived. Youngsters have been able to make friendships that were impossible before. Berkeley, while not without its own problems, remains an example of hope that a truly pluralistic society is possible.

—Anna de Leon  
President, Board of Education  
Berkeley, Calif.

## DRAGGING THEM FORWARD

AS A LONG-TIME SUBSCRIBER AND supporter of *In These Times* I want to commend Diana Johnstone's excellent and perceptive journalism on the present Mideast situation.

As usual, throes of confusion and guilt wrack the left-liberal community as it is dragged kicking and complaining to consciousness.

From apologists and "critical supporters" to track coverers and history manipulators, "knee-jerk antagonism" to any enlightened critic of U.S.-backed Israeli policies (even the straightforward reporting on these policies) is bound to afflict us for a time.

I am confident ITT will continue to play a crucial role in helping us move forward.

—Carla F. Wallace  
Somerville, Mass.

## PRO-SOVIET

IN YOUR ISSUE OF SEPT. 22-28 I WAS RE- galed by the article by Fred Halliday in which he sings the praises, not only of Brezhnev but of his mentor Joseph Stalin, "who occupies a surprisingly warm place in the hearts of many Soviets."

To Mr. Halliday, this "warm place" for a sadistic butcher is apparently a matter for approval and admiration.

To me, it indicates a state of abject servility "in the hearts of many Soviets" and moral obtuseness on the part of Mr. Halliday and the editors of *In These Times* who chose to make this the lead article.

I received my final notice to renew my subscription. I will not renew it.

—Philip Daniels  
New York

## ANTI-SOVIET

AFTER HELPING YOU GET STARTED and hanging in and selling subs and loving you and supporting you in every way, I've decided to quit.

Because of Poland.

Your Poland thing is the old Poor Little Finland, Poor Little Yugoslavia, Poor Little Hungary, Poor Little Czechoslovakia, etc. of the once-proud *Guardian* (I loved it as the *National Guardian*, until its anti-Sovietism drove it mad) and other "socialist" but anti-Soviet publications that have gone that way.

It makes me wonder: Have you sold out? Lost your perspective? Marbles?

Anti-Sovietism is bad stuff. It leads nowhere for socialists. It's too easy, points us in the wrong direction, and replaces hope with hate.

Grow up, please!

—A reader  
Seattle

## MISLEADING RHETORIC

I WAS DISMAYED TO READ THE HEAD- line on my article about concession bargaining at Local 65 in South Chicago ("McBride sells out Steelworkers," ITT, Oct. 6). The empty rhetoric of "sell-out" subverts my attempt to convey the complexity of events in steel bargaining.

In my opinion President Lloyd McBride of the United Steelworkers International Union of America is following a policy that will not get steelworkers what they, and he, want—secure jobs at decent wages. But I believe he is making a sincere attempt to solve a difficult problem: the steel companies' continuing disinvestment in the steel industry in the face of intensified international competition and a world-wide depression.

—David Bensman  
Chicago

**Editor's note:** We apologize both for the rhetoric and for the misleading content of the headline. We also believe McBride is honestly attempting to get the best deal for his members.

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# PERSPECTIVES

## U.S. imperial aims aided by massacre

By Dians Johnstone

**A**MONG THEIR OTHER, more sinister accomplishments, the current Israeli leaders have created a broad international consensus in favor of U.S. military intervention in the Mideast. Who would have thought it possible only a few months ago that the French Communist Party would come out in favor of American Marines landing in Lebanon? Revision over the Beirut refugee camp massacres, fears of further, uncontrollable violence, have worked this miracle.

The paradox is enormous and many-faceted. An American military presence in the Mideast tops Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger's list of policy aims. His dream seems to be coming true. Yet he is dragging his heels. The same men who set out to destroy the "Vietnam syndrome" that made Americans reluctant to send troops into foreign trouble spots are now taking refuge behind it. Because, of course, this isn't exactly what they had in mind.

Pentagon planners were no doubt expecting to rush into the region, seconded by their trusty Israeli ally, against some more or less Arab manifestation of "international terrorism," backed by Moscow and centered in the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Instead, the world is clamoring for them to go in and protect Palestinians and other Arabs from the Israelis. This is surely an unplanned contingency.

Weinberger must fear that if anything goes wrong with the U.S. peace-keeping mission to Beirut—and in Lebanon, the possibilities of things going wrong are infinite—the U.S. Congress will put a short leash on the Rapid Deployment Force and hobble his plans to police the Persian Gulf.

Meanwhile, Ronald Reagan's righteous indignation looks, for once, sincere and spontaneous and corresponds to Europe's cherished image of America as a bit slow to catch on, perhaps, but quick to

act on sentimental and moral grounds. Not since World War II has there been such a widespread readiness to approve the use of American power overseas.

This must not surprise a cynic like Henry Kissinger. Fully equipped with the best American weapons, no strings attached, Israel is a mortal peril to all its neighbors. Israel pays no attention to the UN, or Europe or anybody else. Only the U.S. might have an influence. So everyone is turning to the U.S. This is known as the "protection racket." Other potential protectors have been discredited—the Soviet Union, of course, but also Europe and the UN. The U.S. wanted to be the only big cop on the beat. Its success has contributed to the present mess.

The U.S. never objected when Israel and its puppet Major Saad Hadad flouted the UN force sent to keep peace in Lebanon. Over the years, the UN's alleged unfairness to Israel has been a pretext for American withdrawal of support from the world organization. This unconditional support for Israel, this unwillingness even to listen to the other side, has encouraged a contemptuous attitude toward the UN and toward the opinions of Third World countries. Being systematically ignored has only prompted Israel's critics to raise their voices. But there is no dialogue. Even in the midst of the outcry over the Beirut massacres, the U.S. delegation angrily stalked out of a Vienna meeting of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) when a majority voted not to admit Israel. Such an exclusion is debatable, but by attributing it solely to a "political vendetta" improperly dragged into a technical body founded to "make the benefits of peaceful nuclear energy available to all," the American delegate was deliberately missing the point. Israel outraged the IAEA last year by bombing Iraq's nuclear reactor, despite IAEA inspectors' reports that it was being used only for peaceful research. However, American policy is to consider that Israel is always right and its critics always wrong.

The Beirut bombings, the Sabra and Shatila massacres forced recognition that

Israel might be wrong. The multinational force of American, French and Italian troops sent back to Beirut to prevent further slaughter amounts to a reprimand of Israel. Reagan and his Secretary of State George Shultz now talk of a Mideast peace settlement that will actually take into account the grievances and rights of the Palestinian people. The world is so heartily sick of the Mideast conflict that almost everyone is willing to forget about past American responsibility and wish the Reagan effort well. But the U.S. is not very well equipped to undertake a Mideast policy running counter to Israeli wishes.

Israel is the U.S.' closest military ally—closer than its European NATO allies. It is likely that American intelligence in the Mideast is heavily dependent on Israeli intelligence. How can the U.S. government sort out what is going on in the complicated intrigues of the region if Israel decides to be really difficult?

Several European countries, notably

*Because no other means to pacify the area exist, even the French Communists now welcome U.S. troops in Beirut.*

France, have longstanding contacts and independent intelligence sources in the area. But the Reagan administration seems too antagonistic toward Europe to take full advantage of these sources.

American treatment of the French and Italian partners in the multinational force has been cavalier from the start. During the first mission, while the PLO was being evacuated, the U.S. Marines stayed in the port, while the French took up more exposed positions on the road to Beirut alongside the Sabra and Shatila camps. In effect, the French and Italian soldiers were protecting the Marines. Alone, the Americans would have been considered Israel's ally; they needed the Europeans at their side to give them an air of neutrality. The French and Italians agreed to this escort service because they know that only the Americans have the necessary clout; but they would at least like seriously to be consulted.

It was without such consultation that the U.S. decided to withdraw after its first mission on September 10, 11 days before the mandate ran out. France strongly objected to this hasty retreat, and reluctantly pulled out three days later, on the evening of September 13. The next afternoon, Lebanese president-elect

Bashir Gemayel was blown up along with his Phalange Party headquarters in Israeli-occupied East Beirut. That evening, Israel began taking over West Beirut. Twenty-four hours later, on the evening of September 16, the Israeli army let Phalange units into Sabra and Shatila, and the massacres began, lit by Israeli flares.

French intelligence reportedly believes reports that Bashir Gemayel was blown up on orders from the Israeli high command after he displayed unexpected determination to unite his country and expel all foreign armies. His assassination might have been expected to set all the parties in the Lebanese civil war to slaughtering each other again. If so, the Sabra and Shatila massacres might have been less noticeable. Instead, the war-weary Lebanese, stunned, moved rapidly to reassert their national unity by quickly electing a successor.

The massacres raised an accusing question: Why did the multinational force, and the U.S. in particular, withdraw so hastily, leaving the unprotected Palestinian civilians to the mercies of their enemies? In France and Italy, there was overwhelming public support for sending the force back to prevent further slaughter. On September 20, French Communist Party leader Georges Marchais emerged from an hour-long discussion of Lebanon with President Francois Mitterrand to announce his "complete agreement" on sending an international force to Lebanon. The Communist leader said priority should be given to a UN force, but if agreement could not be reached (as was obviously the case), then France should "take its responsibilities" in a multinational force along with Italy and the U.S.

Thus the horrors of Beirut seem to have erased, at least temporarily, any objections to American imperialism. The deterioration of the situation has led to a search for lesser evils. French Communist Party demonstrators protesting against the massacres kept to rather mild slogans, mostly "Israel out of Lebanon" and condemnations of Begin and Sharon, implicitly going along with Mitterrand and the Socialists, who have pinned their hopes on Shimon Peres and Mapam. (Far right Zionists tried to create panic in the Jewish community by spreading the lie that Communists in this demonstration had carried a banner reading "Death to the Jews.")

However, a new question soon arose: Why did the Marines take so long to return to Beirut? The French and Italians started arriving September 24, whereas the U.S. held back until September 29, waiting for Israel to complete its evacuation. The Israelis were forced to give up Beirut airport, where they had come to stay. But U.S. foot-dragging also enabled Israel and its allies to finish looting Palestinian office and "mopping up" the Lebanese left. When the waves of indignation against Begin and Sharon subside, more critical attention may be focused on American actions.

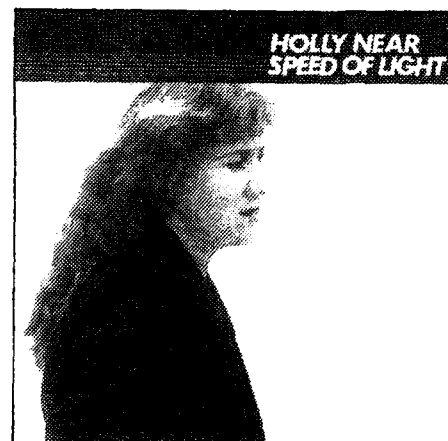
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# PERSPECTIVES

## Surface calm belies realities in Poland

By David Ost

**A**UGUST 1982 ENDED IN Poland the way many in power wished it had ended two years earlier—with a wave of beatings in a fog of tear gas. Possible gathering sites were tear-gassed before any crowds gathered. People were arrested for simply being near suspected rallying points.

Underground Solidarity's call to the streets was met with wide support, as the government's own reports demonstrate. But it was an emotional and symbolic success only. Concretely, the results were thousands arrested and a new wave of internments and house-searches.

People have to think again: do they have any way to convince their government to talk with the people they had previously elected as their leaders? As virtually all opposition activists agree, a general strike is at least temporarily out of the question. People are afraid of losing their jobs and driving their families deeper into trouble. More important, workers are not ready to risk everything in a single battle with little chance of succeeding.

Poland is now a highly developed police state. The oppressive apparatus has proved itself quite able and willing to do its job. Unwilling to propose an acceptable political solution, the authorities defend their system through administrative means. The authorities are extremely well-informed about underground activities, thanks to an extensive network



The image of the Black Madonna on Polish lapels symbolizes an increasingly passive resistance to the regime.

of part-time informers, lured by promises of job promotion, or an apartment.

For a general strike to succeed, everyone must participate. But with the regime controlling the propaganda network and policing the factories, the opposition is in no position to bring everyone out. And it is in no position to defend those who go on strike. Sometimes it turns out that the best defense of its people is to counsel passivity—suspected activists are frequently told that if there are any disturbances at their workplaces, they will be held responsible and interned. Workers then refrain from striking in order to show their solidarity.

The opposition's main problem today

is its intellectual stagnation. From the beginning of martial law, the majority of intellectuals have refused to collaborate in any way with the military authorities. This has meant a refusal to participate in all discussions sponsored by the regime press, radio or TV. It has also meant a boycott of all government-sponsored commissions, even those formally connected only to a university or research institute. The problem is that this has resulted in continued government by the inept. Moreover, as long as intelligent people keep silent, no one seems to have constructive programs. This discredits the opposition because people look to it for new ideas. Some oppositionists are calling for intellectuals to propose political and economic alternatives in the underground press as a way of pressuring for change and preparing for its eventual victory. Basically, this is a proposal for the opposition to pursue the "independent, self-organization of society" that has been official strategy all along. While the opposition managed to forge an independent public sphere during Solidarity's existence, and to some extent before, it has not been able to do this under conditions of martial law.

The greatest casualty of the military regime has been politics. One year ago Solidarity's First National Congress was taking place in an atmosphere of tension but hope. Serious people were proposing serious programs and the whole population took part in the discussions.

That public sphere has collapsed. Today, opposition politics consists of symbolic manifestations whose purpose is not to propose alternatives but simply to demonstrate opposition to the regime. People gather around crosses made of flowers or statues of Mary, or place flowers at monuments to martyrs of the past, until the police come by to disperse them and sometimes beat them, while passers-by taunt the attackers. Street rallies' sole purpose is to prevent the police from stopping them. In Nowa Huta on August 31 the protestors won. They beat the police away from the church and "occupied" downtown for several hours. They were then faced with the question they had forgotten: What do we do now? They hung around for a few hours and went home to get some sleep for the next day of martial law.

Most people think only in terms of ending martial law and returning to the freedom of pre-December days. But martial law has stifled the creative imagination that was the great strength of the Solidarity epoch. In this sense, the regime has already won. A deep wave of pessimism has swept the country, especially among the youth. This pessimism cripples both the government and the opposition, preventing the former from winning even passive support and making it difficult for the latter to recruit fresh, committed, intelligent activists.

The military government, for its part, keeps itself busy proclaiming new kinds of "national fronts" that are regarded with contempt by the vast majority of citizens. The latest creation is the Patriotic Front for National Rebirth (PRON), which includes both generals and sports figures on its national committee. One member, however, deserves special attention. This is Jaroslaw Sienkiewicz, a party member yet one of the leaders of the coal miners who struck in Jastrzebie in August 1980. Sienkiewicz signed the pact with the government that ended the August strike and went on to become the leader of Jastrzebie solidarity. But his union career was short-lived. He was strongly critical of the national leadership as well as of other local union activists. Then he was accused of having suspicious contacts with the state security apparatus. Within a few months he was defeated in an election for the Jastrzebie union post and soon ceased all union activity.

As his position in PRON makes clear, Sienkiewicz is being groomed for a new role. The prelude to this is the reinterpretation of history. Government propaganda lately has been trying to portray the 1980 Jastrzebie strike as the only "authentic" workers protest. Their "proof" is that only in Jastrzebie did

the democratic opposition (KOR) play no active role. (Remember, KOR is now regarded simply as a CIA creation.) Sienkiewicz is accordingly being promoted as the true workers' representative, hounded out of Solidarity by the "anti-socialists" who terrorized the honest workers. Sienkiewicz may very well be the regime's candidate to lead a revived trade union movement, if and when the authorities decide to open this Pandora's box.

That a privileged role is being reserved for Jastrzebie was apparent on August 31, when it was the only city where a protest demonstration of several thousand workers did not evoke a violent reaction by the police. This was not reported by the press, which told only of the clashes. Obviously the authorities want to present Jastrzebie as a peaceful, loyal town, and they didn't want to beat up the select few who have been chosen from above as the standard-bearers for the future.

In the wake of the August 31 protests the hard-liners are clearly prevailing. According to one insider, Moscow was surprised and enraged by the protests, and insisted on more serious measures to deal with "the counterrevolution." Polish propaganda no longer talks of "misguided" people taking part in the protests. Revived is the language of Gomulka: Only "hooligans" and "anti-socialists" engage in these "riots."

But even though tension remains high, the authorities are likely to lift martial law by the end of the year, probably on the anniversary of its imposition. The catch is that the regime no longer talks about "revoking" martial law, but only of "suspending" it. The army newspaper *Soldier of Freedom* of September 16 writes: "The suspension of martial law should not be understood as full normalization. The government will continue to possess extraordinary powers, allowing it to take and carry out those decisions most vital for the state and security." In the best tradition of military dictatorships, the army newspaper intones that

The militia has succeeded in suppressing manifestations of support for Solidarity.



"Democracy must be learned," and proceeds to denounce the pre-martial law period as "the dictatorship of Solidarity."

Passports will be easier to obtain, not all phone conversations will be subject to wiretapping, some cultural and professional associations will be allowed to resume their activity. But trade unions will remain suspended, Solidarity leaders will remain in prison, the ban on independent public rallies will continue, and the law against harming state interests will be used against anyone independently gathering or passing news information.

Increased oppression at present might produce a surface calm in Poland. But as long as Solidarity remains banned, people will come into the streets. Martial law may or may not be re-introduced in full. But neither will it be lifted entirely. Party sources have hinted for some time that they see martial law as a long-term program (there still is no other program), necessary for the realization of their "reform."

But if the regime does not seriously negotiate with representatives of society and Solidarity, it will be faced with another social explosion within a few years time.

David Ost writes regularly from Warsaw for *In These Times*.

## Time for A change

**W**ith the November 3rd issue, *In These Times* will begin its seventh year of publication. Each year on our anniversary we publish a special issue of the newspaper that includes greetings from various trade unions, political organizations, left publications and individuals. It's an opportunity for our friends and supporters across the country to help us celebrate, make a political statement and raise an

important part of our yearly deficit.

The past two years have been difficult ones for the left, but with the Reagan administration in deep trouble on all fronts, we can expect both a Democratic sweep in November and an opening of opportunities and responsibilities for democratic socialists in the years ahead. In this situation, *In These Times* has a vitally important part to play. To move the American political system off its present impasse, the principle of social control of investment must become a part of mainstream political discourse. On the left, *In These Times* is the only newspaper that has this as a central purpose.

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## INPRINT

## WOMEN'S HISTORY

# The hidden heritage of early socialist women

Women and American  
Socialism: 1870-1920

By Mari Jo Buhle

University of Illinois Press, 3/4  
pp., \$21.00

By Alice Kessler-Harris

We are not the first generation of leftists to struggle with what has long been called the woman question. Nor is this the first generation of women trying to find a place in a disparate left-wing that often seems to trivialize women's issues. Yet, ever since 1869—when Karl Marx suggested expelling the American sections from the First International for giving "precedence to the Women's question over the question of labor"—women socialists have learned little from the experiences of their predecessors.

In this new approach to the history of socialist women, Mari Jo Buhle suggests that if we look less at the formal statements of American socialists and more at how women actually operated within the movement, we might learn that sisterhood contributed significantly to the larger cause of socialism.

Socialist politics have never been as full of life and conflict in the U.S. as in the two generations before World War I. But the European immigrants and the Midwestern leftists who united to form the Socialist Party of America in 1901 agreed on one thing: equality for women would come naturally with the dawn of a new world. In the future, a stable and economically secure family would enable women to perform their social roles more effectively. In the meantime, women should struggle alongside men to raise proletarian consciousness. Questions of gender were considered a distraction from the larger struggle.

Socialists, to be sure, acknowledged an abstract equality for women—one that allowed women to take their places in the organizing cadres and the lower levels of party bureaucracy. And some agreed on the value of issues like women's suffrage and pensions for widowed mothers in attracting women to socialism. But most never fully understood that women's subordinate roles in the family, their underpaid and exploited status in the workforce and their lack of control over their own reproduction critically affected perceptions of equality for all people.

Observers of American socialism have blamed women's failure to organize effectively within the movement on the Socialist Party leadership, which was simply imprisoned in the consciousness of its time. But, letting the matter rest there poses a dilemma for today's socialist-feminists. It encourages them to devote their energies to raising consciousness about women's issues because otherwise they



Women played leading roles in the Socialist Party, as illustrated by this graphic from *APPEAL TO REASON*, a turn-of-the-century socialist newspaper with over a million readers.

will be forced to accept an unsatisfactory place in the political movement. This book comes then, as something of a relief—a way of moving beyond that dilemma.

## Bake sales for socialism?

In Buhle's view, the nub of women's relationship to socialism lies largely in their own cultural experience. She argues that women participated in the socialist movement in ways that drew upon their own history and traditions, ultimately creating a politics consistent with their own experiences. The socialist movement responded to women's initiatives in different ways at different times, but in the end, it was forced to accommodate both the visions of some women and the tactics they introduced.

At times socialist women challenged political orthodoxy only minimally. Among the women attracted to the cause, those from immigrant backgrounds (Buhle focuses on German women in the 1870s) accepted much of what the movement offered. Led to socialism by politically active husbands, they believed that their freedom would come through a family that did not have to sustain the inevitable disruption of poverty

to resolve issues such as women's economic helplessness in the face of poverty, sexual abuse of women and intemperance.

To be a socialist and to put women's issues first, however, proved difficult. Male socialists were not willing to address women's issues since it was believed that only the creation of a socialist society could solve such problems. Women who wanted to be known as socialists and to preserve their autonomy over women's issues solved the problem by joining together in a network of independent socialist women's clubs that raised many issues later claimed by the Socialist Party of America.

The birth of the Socialist Party of America (SPA) produced yet a third faction of women socialists, eager to create a party with broad appeal, and aware of the importance of the rising women's movement. They wanted a compromise—a way of including women and women's issues in the party mainstream. Midwestern in origin, and generally younger than their predecessors, they included some of the most famous names of American socialism: Lena Morrow Lewis, May Wood Simon, Josephine Conger Kaneko, Kate Richards O'Hare. To them, the idea of women's separate spheres was anathema. They insisted that the party pay attention to women's issues because these issues spoke to human equality. In return, they would undertake to organize women into its ranks. To maintain a female presence without locking themselves out of the party's mainstream, they fought for and finally won a Women's National Committee (WNC) within the party.

## Success and compromise.

In what may be the most powerful chapters of the book, Buhle explores the rise and fall of this committee between 1908 and 1915. Its early leaders, including Caroline Lowe and Anna Maley, urged the party to involve itself in women's trade union organization, birth control and suffrage. Using these issues as platforms, they developed organizing strategies so successful that they virtually eradicated the independent women's clubs and increased women's membership in the SPA to more than one-third of the total. By 1910, the National Executive Committee gave the WNC regular funding and a place in its counsels, thereby acknowledging both the importance of the mass-based tactics introduced by the WNC and the significance of family-related issues as organizing tools.

The Socialist Party, however, failed to alter its theoretical ap-

paratus to accommodate these events and some women drifted away, weakening the party and contributing to its eventual decline. Buhle argues too that when feminism, with its emphasis on self-fulfillment, became a separate movement around 1910, it also drew away many for whom the Socialist Party had been the only forum to take women's issues seriously. At the same time, increasing numbers of southern European immigrant women returned to activities that emphasized family and community over organized politics. For them the WNC's aggressive stance on women's participation had little meaning. As the tenuous compromise that had pulled women into the mainstream of the party gave way, WNC leaders suffered from attacks by their party sisters who remained uncommitted to women's issues as a priority. In 1914 the party cut off the Committee's funds, and by 1915 the WNC was dead. Women continued to play a role in socialism, but the party turned its attention to other issues.

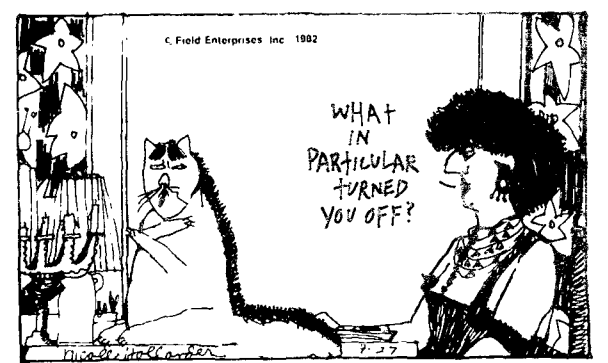
*Buhle argues that women participated in the socialist movement in ways that drew on their own history and traditions.*

Buhle's explorations of gender politics within the Socialist Party reveal the power of women's collective activity in a new light and encourages us to rethink the history of socialism in its shadow.

Alice Kessler-Harris, who teaches at Hofstra University, is the author of *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the U.S.*

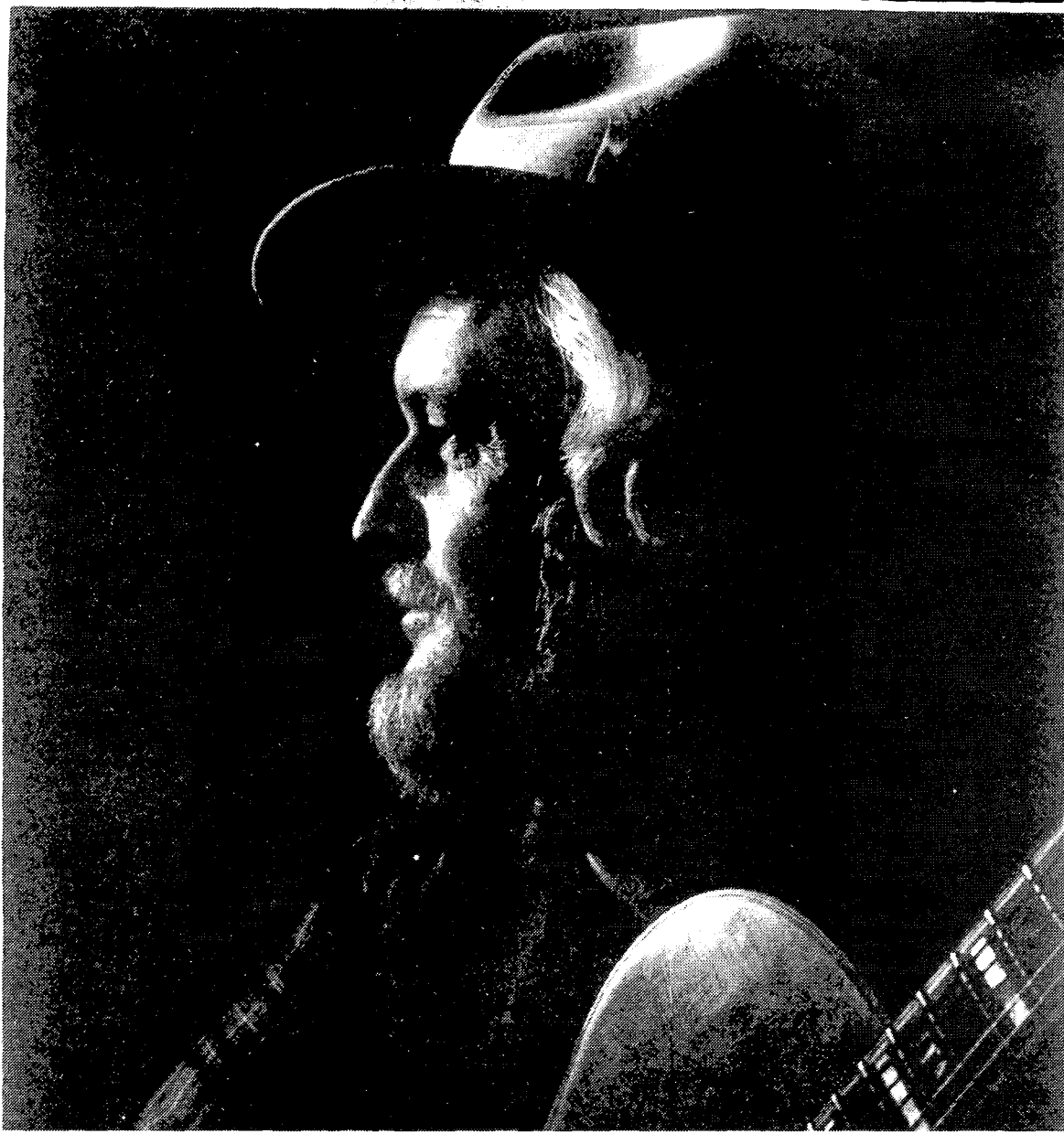
Sylvia

by Nicole Hollander





## ART «» ENTERTAINMENT



"What I am," says U. Utah Phillips, "is an organizing tool."

## FOLK MUSIC

# Phillips' songs reveal unsung American past

By Jay Walljasper

The efforts of historians to draw attention to the left tradition in the U.S. all too often extend no further than the unsoiled pages of scholarly journals. The bulk of Americans—including many who took college history courses—still think Emma Goldman was probably a nightclub singer and A.J. Muste a race car driver.

One student of radical history, however, who has made the big leap from the library to the streets is U. Utah Phillips—a former archivist who now earns his keep as a walking, talking clearinghouse of information about political struggle. Aided by a six-string guitar and a bundle of old stories and songs, he offers lessons on forgotten bits of history such as the 1912 bread-and-roses textile workers' strike in Lawrence, Mass., and the hobo rebellions in the Pacific Northwest.

But Phillips is more than just another guitar-plucker with a repertoire of worthy causes. He is a masterful showman with a sharp wit and enough stage presence to make Clint Eastwood seem like a nervous understudy. Sporting a thick shock of gray hair and a wardrobe suited to a lumber camp, Phillips appears as the flesh-and-blood embodiment of the music he sings—railroad tunes, Wild West laments, union

anthems, love stories and original compositions yanked from his experiences.

He peppers his performances with one-liners ("The Reagan administration is just a bunch of crumbs held together with dough"). Then he tosses in tactical advice ("If you want to start a worker education program do it in the can because the boss has a fancy private one and will never visit yours") and random observations ("It seems to me the parameters of socially acceptable behavior have become so narrow that most of us are driven

mad simply by definition").

These old songs, fresh jokes and soft-spoken words of wisdom add up to superb entertainment that draws a diverse crowd—the curious as well as the committed. That's a mix Phillips strives to maintain, although he admits it isn't always easy. "Sometimes the political people tell me that I have to get the message out and should drop all that other stuff," he says. "And the people who just come for entertainment suggest that I cut down on the political stuff."

*We Have Fed You All a Thou-*

*sand Years*, his most recent album (which has been released in Canada by Aural Tradition Records, Vancouver, B.C., but will not be available in the U.S. until January on Philo Records; the label that also released his previous three albums) proves further that politics and amusement can blend in a way that doesn't compromise the integrity of either. It is a compendium of songs and stories from the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)—a rowdy bunch not noted for letting political earnestness stand in the way of a good time. Recorded live at IWW meetings in British Columbia, the record features famous tunes like "Solidarity Forever" and Joe Hill's "The Preacher and the Slave" as well as more obscure selections that are no less moving.

Phillips himself carries an IWW card. In explaining why he belongs to a labor organization whose honor roll of dead heroes is longer than its current membership list, he says: "(A) because they're right, and (B) because they are a very American organization that speaks in terms American workers can appreciate. They have what other groups lack—a style that appeals to the average worker."

## The real culture.

Phillips takes a similar approach to his music and performances. He believes there is a vital American culture outside of what is studied in universities and flashed on television screens. The songs and stories that pass between people in factories, offices, taverns and backporches are an important part of our national identity and must become the backbone of any movement to realign American society. Control of the national culture is more important than the ballot box, Phillips says, adding that right now corporations are gaining a tighter grip on our culture through their manipulation of the mass media and public schools. That is why he considers it important to unearth and promote the radical traditions of the past.

"I'm not a historian," he says. "The songs I sing I learned off of people. I sing them because they give me a history of our people that I never got in high school. That was just a history of the ruling class."

"What I am," he adds, "is an organizing tool."

Through the years he has also been a horse wrangler, warehouseman, soldier, construction worker on a Navajo reservation, mission worker, neighborhood organizer, printer and archivist. But his interest in folk music predates all of that. It goes all

the way back to his boyhood in the '40s. "A Japanese baker who ran a French bakery taught me to play Hawaiian music on the ukelele," he recalls, "at a Jewish youth camp in Utah."

Later, he brought the ukelele along when he ran away from home. On the road he met up with some tramps who showed him how to tune it like a guitar and then taught him several old songs.

"When I got back home," he says, "I started looking for and playing songs that sounded like the ones they taught me. I still do."

Phillips brought his guitar along to the Korean War, but

*Phillips carries a guitar and an IWW card.*



the war experience nearly shattered him. "I was so abhorred by what I saw there that when I came back I wasn't sure I could live in this country. I just rode around on freights for several years until Ammon Hennacy, who was with the Catholic Workers in Salt Lake City, pulled me off and convinced me that it wasn't the country I hated. It was the government."

For many years Phillips picked up his guitar for union rallies and protest marches, but his career as a professional musician didn't begin until 1969, just after he ran for the U.S. Senate in Utah on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket. "We got 6,000 votes," he recalls, "and it rendered me unemployable. So I left the state and became a professional musician because it meant I could make a living without a boss."

Blacklisting Phillips was a bad move for Utah's conservatives, however, because instead of just indexing the radical past down in the basement of the state's archives, he's trumpeting it at colleges, clubs, folk festivals and concert halls all across the continent. And as Phillips himself is fond of saying, "The most radical idea in the world is a long memory."

## CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Beth Maschinot**.

### BOSTON, MA

#### October 14

Nancy Snyder, director of 9 to 5, the Boston Working Women's affiliate, will discuss "The Labor Movement and Working Women" at the Thursday night monthly meeting of Boston DSA, 7:30 p.m., Workmen's Circle, 1762 Beacon St., Brookline (Cleveland Circle Green Line). Phone (617) 426-9026.

land Circle Green Line). Phone (617) 426-9026.

#### October 25

"Feminism, the Family and the New Right," a forum with Democratic Socialists of America Vice-Chair Barbara Ehrenreich and Betty Friedan. JFK School of Government, Harvard University, Boylston St., (near Harvard Square), Cambridge. Talk begins at 8:00 p.m. Cash bar reception to follow. Sponsored by Boston DSA. For information call: (617) 426-9026.

### NEW ENGLAND

#### October 15-17

New England DSA Regional Retreat "Grassroots Organizing and Electoral Politics." Keynote speakers: NY City Councilor Ruth Messinger and Massachusetts Fair Share staff director Michael Ansara. Registration

starts at 6 p.m. on Friday. Geneva Point Center, Lake Winapausakee, N.H. (off Rt. 25 near Centre Harbor). For details contact New Hampshire DSA, P.O. Box 8044, JFK Center, Boston, MA 02114. Phone: (617) 426-9026.

### CHICAGO, IL

#### October 20

The Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) is sponsoring a blues benefit for striking midwestern farmworkers featuring the Jimmy Johnson Blues Band. 8:30 p.m. at Biddy Mulligan's, 7644 N. Sheridan. Tickets: \$4.00 in advance or \$5.00 at the door. For tickets or more information call: (312) 346-6381.

### DURHAM, NC

#### October 21

"The Image of the Black in Western

Art." This impressive Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition is coming to Duke University's Bryan Center, (919) 684-2323. Show features amazing images, Ancient Egypt to the Renaissance, plus four public lectures on Thursdays at 3:30, starting October 21. Special introduction by North State Public Video.

### PHILADELPHIA, PA

#### October 23

"Meet Your Candidates and Civic Leaders" wine-and-cheese reception. Saturday 2-5 p.m. Temple University Center City (23rd floor), 1616 Walnut St. At the door: \$5 (\$8 couple), students, senior citizens and unemployed \$3 (\$5 couple). Advance reservations (paid by Oct. 20): \$3 (\$5 couple), students, senior citizens, and unemployed \$2 (\$3 couple). Concerned Citizens of the Delaware Valleys, Box 47, Bryn Mawr, PA 19010. Information: Harry Hyde, (215) 525-1129.



# Gays

Continued from page 9

ing gay. I do think it's a cheerful film and that's a good thing. But I think it reinforces the traditional masculinity. It secures gay sexuality for masculine sexuality. It's meant to be a kind of debate about the problem of monogamy and promiscuity, but I think the weight is really with promiscuity, which is defined and imaged in terms of a very masculine concept of sexuality. It's about this urgent need to have sex and I don't really agree with that position.

What is most interesting is the difference between the sex scenes with Bernd, the main character's steady lover, and the sex scenes outside. In the sex scenes with Bernd, you don't get any of the nitty-gritty physical facts of sexuality, and with the others you get exactly that. I do think there's something about those non-Bernd sex scenes that are about going all the way, being really tough, being a real man, which is being validated. I refuse to buy into the whole set of understandings of masculine sexuality that are culturally and historically formed and have oppressed women, and I don't think they do much good for men, finally. I actually feel oppressed by the film; it's telling me that I ought to do that. If I don't do that, I'm pathetic, weedy, effeminate.

Vito Russo: I liked the film a lot, but I don't like the director's personal sensibility. I think he's just a shameful narcissist who can make a good, funny, energetic film. I hated his morality in the film. It's not the promiscuity I'm opposed to. I think straight people should be more open to promiscuity. I think it's the use of it. I think the film is an advertisement for seeing people as meat. I'm not attacking promiscuity, and at the same time I don't want to be judged by the morality of Frank Ripplow, because I think he's a leech.

**Al LaValley:** Is promiscuity an aspect of the gay lifestyle that mainstream film can't deal with?

**Stephen Harvey:** The official attitude about sex is that promiscuity is bad or at least unsavory. You are not going to have a film in which the protagonist is promiscuous all the way until the end, because Hollywood movies are predicated on the notion that the protagonist has to be made sympathetic to the viewer.

**Richard Lippe:** I think it's interesting that in *Rich and Famous* the Jacqueline Bisset character has promiscuous relationships, and, as far as I can recall, she is one of the first female characters who is not put down for it, compared to, say, Diane Keaton in *Looking for Mr. Goodbar* or even Claire Bloom in *The Chapman Report*. I think there's something quite positive about letting her have these encounters and taking them as lightly as they are and showing them as being OK. One of big threats in the issue of gays and gay relationships for heterosexuals is the threat to the family, the breaking up of its emotional structure, that one can find sources of emotional pleasure outside the family. Again in *Rich and Famous*, the family is shown not to be the source of security. Bisset and Bergen have a bond based on a sustained, though very problematic, friendship. The film suggests that though this might be difficult, they're working at it.

**Vito Russo:** *Rich and Famous* had a promiscuous heroine and got attacked for it, notably by Pauline Kael, who attributed the promiscuity of a heterosexual character, a woman, to a homosexual sensibility, as though straight women have never been promiscuous or been given the permission to be promiscuous. So when George Cukor created one for the first time, Kael said they shouldn't be like that. It's homosexuals, they're the ones who are promiscuous.

**Tom Waugh:** I don't think it's promiscuity that Hollywood's afraid of. It's eroticism, any kind of eroticism.

**Vito Russo:** You're not supposed to want to be promiscuous. You're sup-

posed to want to settle down. Even Ripplow had his relationship for that reason. I find romantic love can be oppressive, too—an illusion. At their best, films should reflect all these arguments, show people who feel all these different ways, create dramatic conflict out of that instead of preaching to people all about it. That's the substance of our lives. But it's not on the screen. It's all this father-knows-best crap that we've been getting for 50 years and everybody is sick of it.

**Al LaValley:** Has television been more progressive than mainstream film in dealing with gays and gay issues?

**Stephen Harvey:** I think that indeed television was freer than film until this whole Moral Majority Coalition for Better Television started. One way to boost the ratings was to present a hot contemporary topic. This was a way of inciting people's curiosity to watch the show. With movies, it has been assumed by many in the industry that the way to get the widest possible audience is by not offending anybody. I think the thinking in terms of how to attract an audience was very different with television, but I do think the pressure groups have started to exert a certain amount of influence over programming.

**Stuart Byron:** There's something to the point of view that television is freer and more progressive. Also, the demographics of television are more adult. The entire dilemma of the American entertainment industry right now is that important subject matter is television subject matter, and yet the prestige writers and directors don't want to work for television. And in making theatrical movies, you're making movies for kids.

**Hollywood and beyond.**

**Al LaValley:** Where should things be going?

**Tom Waugh:** I don't really have any expectations from Hollywood. I think the most we can hope for are token supporting roles; the kinds of parts Billy Dee Williams gets. We had our *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*, so let's forget

about it for another few years. Look at Hollywood's treatment of blacks, working-class people, or women. Tokenism is the language Hollywood uses. But I think there are some distributors and producers who are looking very carefully at what happens to *Taxi zum Klo*. I know at least three independent feature projects under way in New York.

**Vito Russo:** I think somebody needs to point out that in discussing this issue of gays and film, all of us who are gay, who care about film, sort of silently acknowledge that what we're really talking about when we talk about films we like are independents.

**Andrew Britton:** I'm in principle opposed to the idea that simply because gay people make films about gays they're going to be necessarily more radical or more advanced. *Nighthawks* was made by gay people, and yet I think its view of gays and gay life is as objectionable and reactionary as any film about gays by straights.

**Doug Edwards:** I know that Vito has written that he thinks the only forum for realistic and honest gay characters and situations is in independent filmmaking. I can see why he says that. Hollywood traditionally runs behind the times culturally, and when your whole perspective is a mass-market product, you have to go with the lowest common denominator. I can see his pessimism. It's logical, but I don't know if it's true. I think that gay people can make films that will be appealing to a general audience. Maybe they won't be the kind of film, like *Raiders of the Lost Ark*, that will take in \$200 million, but I think Hollywood is having to confront that whole issue of big pictures anyway.

With the opening of the whole video market, the industry is defining what is an attractive profit margin. Filmmaking may become like publishing, tolerating special-interest film production that reaches a smallish audience but is still profitable.

*A longer version of this article first appeared in American Film magazine.*

## CLASSIFIED

### PUBLICATIONS

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LINE OF MARCH #10: "Symposium on Paul Sweezy's Theory of 'Post-Revolutionary Society'" with critiques by Jonathan Aurthur, Al Szymanski, and the Soviet Union Study Project. Sweezy replies in LINE OF MARCH #12. This issue also includes "The Politics of Nuclear War and Nuclear Disarmament" and "The U.S. Labor Movement Since World War II." Single issue \$3.50 plus 20% postage. Subscriptions (6 issues) \$17.50; foreign \$22.50. Line of March Publications, Dept. I, P.O. Box 2729, Oakland, CA 94602.

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# Women wear Menswear

  
by Virginia Holbert



lessly garbling the designer's fashion "statement."

The days of an elite corps of designers dictating fashion changes are over. New styles tend to percolate up rather than trickle down. More than ever before, designers reinterpret the clothes they spot on the streets, in movies, in dance clubs. They then appropriate the style of a subculture and ply it to the mainstream. Ralph Lauren, for example, has copied his way to a fortune by applying good taste but little innovation to the preppie look, the L.L. Bean look and the well-dressed hippie look.

A sense of irony—conscious or unconscious—is inherent in this mainstreaming phenomenon. Residents of cramped Manhattan apartments may seem mildly amusing in their hiking boots and lumberjack shirts or their update of the flower-child's patchwork skirt. But it becomes a cruel joke when we realize Lauren is selling his skirt—a tasteful version of vintage clothing store find—for about \$1,200.

Irony is no less present in this fall's menswear look, this time borrowed from the artists, writers, students and segments of the lesbian community who have been wearing men's clothes for years. These clothes are intentionally oversized and somewhat awkward. Padded shoulders, loose-fitting pants and smooth-fitting but loose suitcoats are designed to make the most of a man's body. On a woman's body, men's clothes take on a subtle twist—concealing the most prominent aspects of the female form while hinting at gender confusion.

But the cross-dressing also reveals the conventions of men's dress that are taken for granted when seen on men. In this way, the armor-like qualities of a suit become apparent. No skin is revealed, for example, except on the hands and face. The wearer is buttoned up to the neck and secured with an absolutely necessary but positively useless tie.

Business suits also make men look remarkably alike by obscuring differences in individual bodies. A business suit camouflages or conceals skinny shoulders, a pot belly or spindly legs, thereby signaling the elimination of the physical level from corporate competition. And although there are indeed slight differences—in cut, fabric and quality—suits all look alike in a broad sense. The suit makes the all-important white-collar dis-

inction; one is either inside or outside the business class.

Of course women have a parallel corporate uniform nearly as rigid as the businessman's. Women who want to be taken seriously on the job are counseled to forgo low-cut necklines and the color red (too sexy), ties and pants (too masculine) and lace and ruffles (too feminine). Instead they are expected to wear tailored suits with gently fitted jackets and moderately flared or straight skirts. Most appropriate at the neck is a soft bow or a string tie.

Like their male counterparts, businesswomen distinguish themselves from other classes—pink- or blue-collar women and non-working women. Like men, they are buttoned up to the neck, but unlike men their legs are exposed. Perhaps the implication is that above desk-level they should be professional and invulnerable, while below that level they should be exposed and feminine—in one outfit symbolizing the dual role women have in this society.

By submitting to this unbending dress code, women show they are willing to play the game of corporate conformism and competition just the way men are. They also signal their acceptance of the narrow range of sexuality allowed by the "female businessman" role. Although the difference between sexes is minimized, it is rigidly maintained.

If a dressed-for-success woman crosses the border into mannish dressing, she becomes threatening. But a provocatively dressed woman is threatening in another way. By accepting the prohibitions against clothing deemed "sexy," women are also buying the notion that men can't be held responsible for their actions and must be protected from their own sexuality. In this way of thinking, a victim of sexual harassment is asking for it if she wears a red dress.

This season, women are faced with two very different ways of dressing like men: one is to dress for success; the other is to wear the designer's version of menswear. Since the first is so rigid, it's no wonder that some women are choosing the second. This latest fashion seems to be a direct response to the dress-for-success ethic. The women who wear menswear are either outside of the pink-white-and-blue collar class system or are attempting to distance themselves from it. Just by wearing mannish-looking clothes they are flaunting the conservative dress code and mocking the oversimplified sexuality embodied in the corporate uniforms.

At the same time, however, the menswear look suggests the perception that the seat of power is indeed found in a pair of pants. Women may unconsciously believe that men's clothes give them more freedom, power or invulnerability. At this level they may not question why or even whether this is so. But in tuxes and tweeds, women will be wearing the clothes of the rich and powerful of our society. Some may be buying into the clothes-make-the woman myth, unwittingly hoping that the clothes of the elite will help secure them a place in the inner circle. The problem, though, is that these clothes are somebody else's; they don't quite fit. Maybe some women realize this but are still ready to tackle the business world's armor head on—with a sense of irony and style. ■

ONE OF THE SUREST SIGNS OF fall is the reappearance of well-padded fashion magazines on the newsstands. After a lean summer they're back—fat and glossy and packed with ads. The September *Vogue*, for example, bundles its approximately 190 editorial pages in 400 pages of advertising.

But although fall is their biggest season, retailers are playing it cautious, ordering fewer clothes and cutting back on inventories. Many stores are also moving to "upscale" their merchandise and customers by dumping cheap goods and replacing them with high-priced, better-quality clothes. This marketing scheme is based on the fashion-world wisdom that women now tend to buy fewer clothes but are willing to shell out more for the few pieces they do buy. The flood of women into the workforce would seem to support this idea. Working women at all levels, not just those "dressed for success," may choose to spend less time shopping and updating their wardrobes. At the same time, they may spend more for clothes considered job or career assets. But the "upscale" trend may also

reflect the assumption that wealthy customers will be better insulated from economic shocks than poor and middle-class customers.

In another survival tactic, retailers are hedging their bets by stocking a wide range of looks—from preppie and prairie to sweat-suiting and gray flannel. One of the most intriguing fall looks for women is menswear—not the real thing, of course, but women's clothing designed to have the loose fit and subtle patterning of haberdashery. Significantly, these are not the men's sport or work clothes that women have always appropriated when necessary. Instead, magazines and stores are showing long, loose-fitting jackets, baggy pants, ties, vests, boxy overcoats, oxford shoes and fedora hats—all with the upper-class masculine touch. For evening, the essential outfit is the tuxedo in traditional black or white with a bow tie at the neck.

Although this sartorial sex change has infiltrated the merchandising world, it's not yet clear whether it will take to the streets. Most likely, women will buy a few mannish pieces here and there, adding them to old wardrobes and thus hope-

Photographer unknown



A look at  
clothes that  
suit the times